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CLARENDON'S
HISTORY OF THE REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND.

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THE

HISTORY OF THE REBELLION

AND

CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND

BEGUN IN THE YEAR 1641,

BY

EDWARD, EARL OF CLARENDON.

RE-EDITED FROM

A FRESH COLLATION OF THE ORIGINAL MS. IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY,

WITH MARGINAL DATES AND OCCASIONAL NOTES,

BY

W. DUNN MACRAY, M.A., F.S.A.

In Six Volumes.

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A TRUE HISTORICAL NARRATION

OF THE

REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND.

BOOK IX.

1 [1]. We are now entering upon a time, the representation and description whereof must be the most unpleasant and ingrateful to the reader, in respect of the subject matter of it; which must consist of no less weakness and folly on the one side than of malice and wickedness on the other; and as unagreeable and difficult to the writer, in regard that he shall please very few who acted then upon the stage of business, but that he must give as severe characters of the persons, and as severely censure the actions of many who wished very well, and had not the least thought of disloyalty or infidelity, as of those who, with the most deliberate impiety, prosecuted their design to ruin and destroy the Crown: a time in which the whole stock of affection, loyalty, and courage, which at first alone engaged men in the quarrel, seemed to be quite spent, and to be succeeded by negligence, laziness, inadvertency and dejection of spirit, contrary to the natural temper, vivacity, and constancy of the nation, and in which they who pretended

'Molins, 12 Aug., 1671.'

[1] [*Hist.* p. 1307. This book is throughout made up from a series of detached passages from two distinct portions of the MS., paged respectively 1–42 and 1307–1329, and interwoven by means of minute cross-references. It has not been deemed necessary, in consequence, to note all the alterations, since lines or words struck out in one place are sometimes reproduced in another. Of the original draft there is a copy by W. Edgeman, in 71 closely-written folio pages, containing 107 of the present sections, with sections 3–12 of book X; this is endorsed by Hyde, 'Concerning the westerne businesse.']

1645 most public-heartedness, and did really wish the King all the greatness he desired to preserve for himself, did sacrifice the public peace and the security of their master to their own passions and appetites, to their ambition and animosities against each other, without the least design of treachery or damage towards his majesty: a time in which want of discretion and mere folly produced as much mischieve as the most barefaced villainy could have done, and in which the King suffered as much by the irresolution and unsteadiness of his own counsels, and by the ill humour and faction of his counsellors, by their not foreseeing what was evident to most other men, and by their jealousies of what was not like to fall out, sometimes by deliberating too long without resolving, and as often resolving without any deliberation, and, most of all, not executing vigorously what was well deliberated and resolved, as by the indefatigable industry and the irresistible power and strength of his enemies.

2. All these things must be very particularly enlarged upon, and exposed to the naked view, in the relation of what fell out in this year (1645) in which we are engaged, except we will swerve from that precise rule of ingenuity and integrity which we profess to observe, and thereby leave the reader more perplexed to see the most prodigious accidents fall out without discerning the no less prodigious causes which produced them; which would lead him into as wrong an estimate of things, and persuade him to believe that a universal corruption of the hearts of the whole nation had brought forth those lamentable effects; which proceeded only from the folly and the frowardness, from the weakness and the wilfulness, the pride and the passion, of particular persons, whose memories ought to be charged with their own evil actions, rather than they should be preserved as the infamous charge of the age in which they lived; which did produce as many men eminent for their loyalty and incorrupted fidelity to the Crown as any that had preceded it. Nor is it possible to discourse all these particulars with that clearness that must subject them to common understandings, without opening a door for such reflections

upon the King himself as shall seem to call both his wisdom 1645
and his courage into question, as if he had wanted the one to apprehend and discover, and the other to prevent, the mischieves which threatened him. All which considerations might very well discourage, and even terrify, me from prosecuting this part of the work with that freedom and openness as must call many things to memory which are forgotten, or were never understood, and rather persuade me to satisfy myself with a bare relation of what was done, and with the known event of that miserable year, (which in truth produced all that followed in the next,) without prying too strictly into the causes of those effects, which might seem rather to be the production of Providence, and the instances of divine displeasure, than to proceed from the weakness and inadvertency of any men, not totally abandoned by God Almighty to the most unruly lusts of their own appetite and inventions.

3. But I am too far embarked in this sea already, and have proceeded with too much simplicity and sincerity with reference to things and persons, and in the examination of the grounds and oversights of counsels, to be now frighted with the prospect of those materials which must be comprehended within the relation of this year's transactions. I know myself to be very free from any of those passions which naturally transport men with prejudice towards the persons whom they are obliged to mention, and whose actions they are at liberty to censure. There is not a man who acted the worst part in this ensuing year with whom I had ever the least difference or personal unkindness, or towards whom I had not much inclination of kindness, or from whom I did not receive all invitations of farther endearments. There were many who were not free from very great faults and oversights in the counsels of this year with whom I had great friendship, and which I did not discontinue upon those unhappy oversights, nor did flatter them, when they were past, by excusing what they had done. I knew most of the things myself which I mention, and therefore can answer for the truth of them; and the most important particulars which were transacted in places very distant from me were

1645 transmitted to me by the King's immediate direction and order, even after he was in the hands and power of the enemy, and out of his own short memorials and journal. And as he was always severe to himself in censuring his own oversights, so he could not but well foresee that many of the misfortunes of this ensuing year would reflect upon some want of resolution in himself, as well as upon the gross errors and oversights, (to call them no worse) of those who were trusted by him. And therefore as I first undertook this difficult work with his approbation and by his encouragement, and for his vindication, so I enter upon this part of it principally that the world may see (at least if there be ever a fit season for such a communication, which is not like to be in this present age) how difficult it was for a prince, so unworthily reduced to those straits his majesty was in, to find ministers and instruments equal to the great work that was to be done; and how impossible it was for him to have better success under their conduct whom it was very natural for him to trust with it; and then, without being over solicitous to absolve him from those mistakes and weaknesses to which he was in truth liable, he will be found not only a prince of admirable virtue and piety, but of great parts, of knowledge, wisdom, and judgment; and that the most signal parts of his misfortunes proceeded most from the modesty of his nature, which kept him from trusting himself enough, and made him believe that others discerned better who were much inferior to him in those faculties, and so to depart often from his own reason, to follow the opinions of more unskilful men, whose affections he believed to be unquestionable to his service. And so we proceed in our relation of matter of fact.

4. What expectation soever there was, that the Self-denying Ordinance, after it had, upon so long deliberation, passed the House of Commons, would have been rejected and cast out by the Peers, whereby the earl of Essex would still have remained general[1], it did not take up so long debate there. The marquis of Arguyle was now come from Scotland, and sat with the commissioners of that kingdom, over whom he had a great ascen-

[1] [From here to the beginning of § 6 is from the *Life*, p. 298.]

dant. He was in matters of religion, and in relation to the Church, purely Presbyterian; but in matter of state, and with reference to the war, perfectly Independent. He abhorred all thoughts of peace, and that the King should ever more have the government, towards whose person (notwithstanding the infinite obligations he had to him) he had always an inveterate malice. He had made a fast friendship with sir Harry Vane during his late being in Scotland, and they both liked each other's principles in government. From the time of his coming to the town the Scots' commissioners were less vehement in obstructing the Ordinance or the new modelling the army: so that after it came to the House of Peers, though thereby the earl of Essex, the earl of Manchester, and the earl of Warwick, and the earl of Denbigh, (whose power and authority, that is, the power, credit, and authority of the three first named, had absolutely governed and swayed that House from the beginning,) were to be dispossessed of their commands, and no Peer of England capable of any employment, either martial or civil, the Ordinance found little opposition, and the old argument that the House of Commons thought it necessary, and that it would be of mischievous consequence to dissent from the House of Commons, so far prevailed that it passed that House likewise; and there remained nothing to be done but the earl of Essex's surrender of his commission into the hands of the Parliament from whom he had received it; which was thought necessary to be done with the same formality in which he had been invested with it. Fairfax was now named and declared general, though the earl of Essex made not haste to surrender his commission; so that some men imagined that he would yet have contested it: but he was not for such enterprises, and did really believe that the Parliament would again have need of him, and his delay was only to be well advised in all the circumstances of the formality. In the end, it was agreed that, at a conference of both Houses in the Painted Chamber, he should deliver his commission; which he did. And because he had no very plausible faculty in the delivery of himself, he chose to do it in writing, which he delivered to them; in

1645

April 3.

April 1.

April 2.

1645 which he expressed, with what affection and fidelity he had served them, and as he had often ventured his life for them, so he would willingly have lost it in their service; and since they believed that what they had more to do would be better performed by another man, he submitted to their judgment, and restored their commission to them, hoping they would find an abler servant: concluding with some expressions which made it manifest that he did not think he had been well used, or that they would be the better for the change: and so left them, and returned to his house; whither both Houses the next day went to attend him, and to return their thanks for the great service he had done the kingdom, which they acknowledged with all the encomiums and flattering attributes they could devise.

5. By this Self-denying Ordinance, together with the earl of Essex, the earl of Manchester, sir William Waller, the earl of Denbigh, major general Massy, lost their commands; as Cromwell should likewise have done, but as soon as the Ordinance was passed, and before the resignation of the earl of Essex, the party that steered had caused him to be sent with a party of
March 4. horse into the west, to relieve Taunton, that he might be absent at the time when the other officers delivered their commissions; which was quickly observed; and thereupon orders were sent to require his present attendance in Parliament, and that their new general should send some other officer to attend that service[1]; which was pretended to be done, and the very day named by which it was averred that he would be in the House. A
April 30. rendezvous was then appointed for their new general to take a view of their troops, that he might appoint officers to succeed those who had left their commands by virtue of the Ordinance, and likewise in their places who gave up their commands and refused to serve in the new model, who were a great number of their best commanders. From this rendezvous the general sent to desire the Parliament that they would give lieutenant general

[1] [On Apr. 28 it was ordered that Fairfax and Skippon should both go with the army for the relief of Taunton, there being a 'difficulty who shall command those forces.' *Commons' Journals,* IV. 124.]

Cromwell leave to stay with him for some few days for his better information, and without which he should not be able to perform what they expected from him. The request being so reasonable, and for so short a time, little opposition was made to it: and shortly after, by another letter, he desired with very much earnestness that they would dispense with his service for that *campania*[1]. And so they compassed their whole design, in being rid of all those whose affections they knew were not agreeable to theirs, and keeping Cromwell in command; who, in the name of Fairfax, modelled the army, and placed such officers as were well known to him, and to nobody else, and absolutely governed their whole martial affairs; as was quickly known to all men; many particulars whereof will be mentioned at large hereafter. 1645 May 10. June 8.

6[2]. Though the time spent in the passing the Self-denying Ordinance, and afterwards in the new modelling their army, had exceedingly retarded the preparations the enemy was to make before they could take the field, whereby the King had more breathing time than he had reason to expect, yet all the hopes he had of recruits against that season depended upon the activity of those to whose care the providing those recruits was committed: so that there will be little occasion to mention any thing that was done at Oxford till the season of the year obliged his majesty to leave that place, and to march with his army into the field. And of all the action that was till that time, the west was the scene; where the Prince, as soon as he came to Bristol, found much more to do (and in which he could not avoid to meddle) than had been foreseen. One very great end of the Prince's journey into the west, besides the other of more importance which have been named before, was, that by his presence, direction, and authority, the many factions and animosities which were between particular persons of quality and interest in those parts, and of equal affection to the King's

[1] [On June 18 the Commons agreed to a resolution of the Lords that Cromwell should continue as lieutenant-general of the horse for three months longer. *Commons' Journals*, IV. 177.]

[2] [*Hist.*, p. 1308.]

1645 service, and yet which miserably infested and distracted it, might be composed and reconciled; and that the endeavours of all men who wished well might be united, in the advancing and carrying on that public service in which all their joint happiness and security was concerned. And this province, besides the Prince's immediate countenance and interposition, required great diligence and dexterity in those about him who were trusted in those affairs. But his highness found quickly another task incumbent on him, which had [not] been expected, and a mischieve much more difficult to be mastered, and unmastered must inevitably produce much worse effects than the other could, which was, the ambition, emulation, and contests, which were between several officers of the army, and parties which were then in those parts; whereby their troops were without any discipline, and the country as much exposed to rapine and violence as it could suffer under an enemy, and in an article of time when a body of the enemy was every day expected. And that this may be the better understood, it will be necessary, in this first entrance upon this discourse, to set down truly the state of the western counties at the time when the Prince first came to Bristol.

7[1]. The lord Goring had been sent by his majesty before the

[1] [Here return is made to 'p. 2' in an earlier portion of the MS. of the *Hist.*, written at Jersey, which commences with the following introductory passages which were afterwards struck out.

'Jarsy, 29th of June [1646]. Being now left to leisure enough to recollect all the passages of this last ill year, and finding that they who have been only faulty, and been the principal authors of all the unhappy accidents, have, to redeem themselves from censure, taken all the crooked and indirect ways to lay aspersions upon the council of the Prince, as if their unskilfulness, impetuosity, and activity, had produced those mischieves; (which reports and reporters have found too much credit in France, and I hear with some at Oxford too;) and believing that this late schism in that council may give new opportunity to some, and leisure to others, to renew and contribute to those scandals, and prepare the understandings and affections of many for an unjust reception of such discourses, I have thought it worth my labour, for the satisfaction of those few who cannot be misled but by being misinformed, to set down this plain true narration of all material passages and accidents that have happened from the time of the Prince's leaving Oxford to the instant of his leaving Jarsy; and, without much interrupting the series of the

time of the Prince's coming into the west with such a party of horse, foot, and dragoons, and a train of artillery, as he desired, 1645

discourse, continue so much of the relation as concerns sir Richard Greenevill entirely by itself, as likewise all the disputes, or rather private murmurings from the lord Goring, against the council; and lastly, all the orders and considerations concerning the Prince's transporting himself out of England: all which have made several impressions in the minds of many, and, according to their several affections, been applied to the disadvantage of those who attended his highness.

'I need not remember the grounds and motives of those resolutions of sending the Prince into the west, which was not any expectation or opinion of that association which they called *One and All*; for all men looked upon that device as a brain-sick imagination of a few persons, who were not easily weaned from any fancy they had once entertained, how extravagant soever. However, that design and the designers of it were to be managed in that manner as might best conduce to the public service, and to receive all possible countenance, as if the Prince (who had been earnestly invited by them with great promises to that purpose) had no other thought but to encourage that association. But the principal end of his highness' designation for the west, (besides the great reason of State, to remove him from being liable to the same dangers with his father, his majesty using to say that he and his son were too great a prize to be ventured in one bottom, and, besides the other reason, to acquaint his highness with business, and, as the King would say, to *unboy* him,) was, that by his highness' presence, direction, and authority, the factions and animosities in the west, which miserably infested the King's service, might be composed and reconciled, those few places which were garrisoned in those parts be reduced, and such a regular orderly army raised, and commanded by the lord Hopton, under his highness, (whose lieutenant-general he was by the King's special direction, and upon the earnest desire of the whole association,) as might be applied with most advantage to the public service: and therefore his highness was armed with two commissions, of generalissimo over all England, and of general of the association; and instructed to apply both as occasions required. Nov. 7. Jan. 26.

'They who were appointed by the King to attend his highness in this expedition as his council, and whose advice he was positively required and enjoined in all things to follow, were not strangers to the passion and impetuosity of prince Rupert, and to the great dislike he had expressed, and the opposition he had given, to the whole design; and therefore expected all the ill offices and disadvantages he could put upon them or the business when they were engaged in it; neither were they so ill courtiers as not to know that their absence from the King would leave them liable to any misrepresentations; but, being commanded by him, (whom they had always obeyed,) and being very confident of his majesty's justice, and that it would not be in anybody's power to make alterations in the counsels which had been upon great deliberation formed, they very cheerfully submitted to the task [which] was imposed upon them, and on

1645 into Hampshire, upon a design of his own of making an incursion into Sussex, where he pretended he had correspondence, and that very many well affected persons promised to rise, and declare for the King, and that Kent would do the same. And
1644. so a commission was granted to him of lieutenant general of
Dec. 21. Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent, without the least purpose or imagination that he should ever be near the Prince. Some attempts he made, in the beginning, upon Christ-Church,
Jan. 15. in Hampshire, a little unfortified fisher-town, yet was beaten off with loss: so that he was forced to retire to Salisbury, where his horse committed such horrid outrages and barbarities, as they had done in Hampshire, without distinction of friends or foes, that those parts (which before were well devoted to the King), worried by oppression, wished for the access of any forces to redeem them. Whilst the lord Goring lay fruitlessly in those parts, a party of horse and dragoons, under the command of Vandruske, a German, passed by him without interruption, to the relief of Taunton, which was blocked up by colonel Windham, and reduced to some straits; and accordingly removed those forces. About the same time, sir Walter Hastings, governor of Portland, seconded by sir Lewis Dyves, (who had the command of Dorsetshire as colonel general,) had surprised
Feb. 9–11. Waymoth, and possessed all the forts and the upper town, the

March 4. Wednesday the 4th of March attended the Prince from Oxford to Farrington in his journey towards Bristol.

March 6. 'On Friday his highness came to Bath, where he resolved to stay two or three days, to the end that in that time both his accommodations might be ready for his reception at Bristol, and that the commissioners of the several counties might have notice of his presence in those parts; and to that purpose he wrote his letters to the high shrief and commissioners of Somerset to attend him at Bristol the Wednesday following, and to the commissioners of the several counties to meet at Bristol about a fortnight after, (which was as little notice as could reasonably be given), and in the mean time to proceed in the speedy levy of his guards, according to the proportions agreed upon; and to the lord Goring, sir Richard Greenevill, and the several governors of the western garrisons, to return an account to his highness of their several conditions and strengths and provision, with a state of the enemy. And here it will be necessary to set down the state of the western counties at the time when his highness came into those parts. The lord Goring,' &c., *as above.*]

rebels having withdrawn themselves into the lower town, divided 1645
from the other by an arm of the sea, and of no considerable strength: so that the speedy reducing that small place was not looked upon as a matter of difficulty. However, lest those forces which had relieved Taunton, and were conceived to be much greater than in truth they were, should be able to disturb the work of Waymoth, and for the sooner expediting the business there, the lord Goring, who pretended that his friends in Sussex and Kent were not ready for him, was, by orders from Oxford upon his own desire, sent thither; whereby it wa thought both the work of Waymoth and Taunton would be speedily effected. And thereupon the lord Hopton, (who had naturally the command of those counties, as field-marshal of the west,) being sent down by the King to compose the disorders upon the relief of Taunton, was by special order recalled to Bristol, lest there might be dispute of command between him and the lord Goring, the one being general of the ordnance, the other general of the horse; but the lord Hopton being likewise field-marshal of the west, in which the lord Goring had no commission to command.

8. Shortly after the lord Goring's arrival at Waymoth, with his full strength of horse, foot, and dragoons, and his artillery, consisting of above 3000 horse and 1500 foot, besides what he found in those parts, that place of so vast importance was, by most supine negligence (at best,) retaken by that contemptible Feb. 27, 28.
number of rebels who had been beaten into the lower town, and who were looked upon as prisoners at mercy. The mysteries of which fatal loss were never inquired into, but with great plainness, by the vote of the country, imputed to general Goring's natural invigilance; who thereupon retired with his whole strength into Somersetshire. So that his highness upon his arrival at Bristol found the west in this condition: all Dorsetshire entirely possessed by the rebels, save only what Sir Lewis Dyves could protect by his small garrison at Sherborne, and the island of Portland, which could not provide for its own subsistence: the garrison of Taunton, with that party of horse and dragoons which relieved it, commanding a very large circuit, and

1645 disturbing other parts in Somersetshire: Devonshire intent upon the blocking up of Plimmoth at one end, and open to the incursions from Lyme, and prejudiced by Taunton, at the other end: the King's garrisons in all three counties being stronger in fortifications (which were not yet finished in any place, and but begun in some) than in men, or any provisions to endure an enemy: whilst the lord Goring's forces equally infested the borders of Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, by unheard-of rapine, without applying themselves to any enterprise upon the rebels. Cornwall indeed was entire, but, being wholly assigned to the blocking up of Plimmoth, yielded no supply to any other service, or to the providing its own garrisons against the time that they might be visited by an enemy.

9. Sir William Waller and Cromwell marched together about this time towards the west, and, making a cavalcade in Wilt-
Mar. 11, 12. shire, had routed and taken the whole regiment of horse of colonel Long, the high shrief of the county, by his great defect of courage and conduct; and seemed furiously to intend an attempt upon general Goring, who was so much startled with the noise at a great distance, that he drew his forces so far west of Taunton that Vandruske had an opportunity to retire, with that body of horse and dragoons with which he had relieved Taunton, to his fellows; whilst the King's forces reposed themselves towards Devonshire, the lord Goring himself and most of his principal officers taking that opportunity to refresh themselves at Exciter, where they stayed three or four days in most scandalous disorder, a great part of his horse living upon free quarter, and plundering to the gates of Exciter; which, being in the beginning of the year, was an ill presage to that people what they were to expect. But finding that sir William Waller made not that haste he apprehended, and borrowing such horse and foot as he could procure from Exciter, he returned again towards Taunton, and gave his highness an account of his condition.

10. His highness, being attended at Bristol by the commissioners of Somerset, found no one thing provided, or one promise complied with which had been made by them at Oxford: of his

guards of horse and foot, which they assured him, for the pro- 1645
portion of that county, should be ready against his coming, not one man or horse provided: of the £100 the week, which was to be allowed by them towards his highness' support, not one penny ready, nor like to be, so that he was forced to borrow from the lord Hopton's own private store to buy bread. And, which was worse than all this, we found plainly that what had been so particularly and positively undertaken at O ford was upon the confidence only of three or four men, who were governed by sir John Stowell and Mr. Fountayne, without any concurrence from the rest of the commissioners of that or the other three associated counties; and that they who had been so confident, instead of forming and pursuing any design for raising of men or money, were only busy in making objections and preparing complaints, and pursuing their private quarrels and animosities against others. And so they brought every day complaints against this and that governor of garrisons, for the riots and insolences of the lord Goring's soldiers, that those parts of the county which were adjacent to Sherborne and Bridgewater were compelled to work at those fortifications, and a world of such particulars; most of which, they well knew, in that conjuncture of time, could not be prevented, and many of which were in themselves very necessary. Yet the Prince endeavoured to give them all encouragement; told them that he was very sensible of all those disorders of which they complained, and would redress them as soon as they should discern it to be in his power; that the forces under the lord Goring was an army by itself, come downinto those parts before his highness, and stayed there then for their protection against the power of Waller, which was ready to invade them, and the garrison of Taunton, which they confessed infested their whole county; that he was very desirous that that army might move eastward, as soon as they should put themselves in such a posture as might render them secure against their enemies; wished them to propose any expedients how the fortifications of the garrisons might be finished without some extraordinary help, or to propose the most convenient one, and he would join with

1645 them; and desired them to proceed in their levies of men and money in the ways agreed to by themselves, and they should find all concurrence and assistance from him. But, notwithstanding all he could say or do, nothing was reasonably proposed or admitted by them for the advancement of the public service.

11. By this time, towards the end of March, sir William Waller, having advanced with his horse and dragoons by Bath towards Bristol, in hope, as hath been said before, to have surprised that city by some treachery within, and being disappointed there, retired towards Dorsetshire, and the edge of Somerset adjoining to that county, where Cromwell expected him; the lord Goring having in the mean while fallen into some of Cromwell's quarters about Dorchester, and taken some prisoners and horses, and disordered the rest. Upon a dispute between themselves, or some other orders, Cromwell retired to join with sir Thomas Fayrefax towards Reading; sir William Waller stayed in those parts, to intend the business of the west, but made no haste to advance, expecting some supplies of foot by sea at Waymoth. So that the lord Goring drew back to Bruton, and sent to the Prince to desire that two of his council might meet him at Wells the next day, to consider what course was best to be taken. Accordingly, the lords Capell and Culpeper the next day met his lordship at Wells, where, after long consideration upon the whole state of the west, and of the great importance of reducing Taunton, without which no great matter could be expected from Somersetshire, the lord Goring proposed, and put the design in writing under his own hand for the whole method and manner of his proceeding, that he would leave the gross of his horse, and 200 foot mounted, in such convenient place upon the skirts of Dorsetshire and Wiltshire as they might be able to retire to their body, if the enemy advanced powerfully; and that he would himself, with all his foot and cannon, and such horse as were necessary, attempt the taking or burning of Taunton: and to that purpose desired his highness to send positive orders to sir

March 24.

March 27[1].

[1] [*Merc. Aulicus*, p. 1526.]

Richard Greencvill (who, notwithstanding his highness's com- 1645
mands formerly sent to him, and some orders from the King himself, made not that haste as might reasonably be expected,) to advance, and to direct the commissioners of Somerset to give their personal attendance upon that service, and in the mean time to take care that sufficient magazines of victual and provisions were made for the soldier: all which was exactly performed by his highness the next day after he received the desires of general Goring.

12. But within three or four days, and before the design upon Taunton was ready for execution, it appeared, by the constant intelligence, that Waller was advancing with a great body of horse and dragoons and some foot; and therefore the attempt upon Taunton was for the present to be laid aside; and the lord Goring very earnestly desired the Prince to command sir Richard Greenevill, who was now drawn near to Taunton, with 800 horse and 2200 foot, besides pioneers, with all possible speed to march to him, that so he might be able to abide the enemy if they came upon him, or otherwise to compel them to fight if they stayed in those fast quarters where they then were, which was about Shaftsbury, Gillingham, and those places. The Prince accordingly sent his commands positively to sir Richard Greenevill to advance towards the lord Goring, and to obey all such orders as he should receive from his lordship; but he as positively sent his highness word that his men would not stir a foot, and that he had promised the commissioners of Devon and Cornwall that he would not advance beyond Taunton till Taunton were reduced; but that he made no question, if he were not disturbed, speedily to give a good account of that place. In the mean time the lord Goring very gallantly and successfully, by night, fell upon sir William Waller's quarters twice[1] in less than a week, and killed and took so good a number that it was generally believed that sir William Waller was lessened near a thousand men by those rencounters; the lord Goring still declaring, that he

[1] [One of the attacks was by Sir John Digby at Cucklington, near Wincanton, on April 1; *Cal. Clar. S.P.* i. 262.]

1645 could neither pursue his advantages upon a party, nor engage the main of the rebels, without the addition of Greenevill's foot; and he, (notwithstanding all orders,) as peremptorily refusing to stir, but professing that if he had an addition of 600 men he would be in the town within six days.

13. Whilst things stood thus, sir William Waller, much weakened with these disasters, and the time of his command being near expired, drew back eastward, and was, by night marches, retired as far as Salisbury before the lord Goring had notice of his motion. Whereupon his highness, upon consideration how impossible it was to overtake him, (which general Goring himself confessed by his letters,) or to engage the forces under the command of Greenevill and the other forces of those parts in any action before the business of Taunton should be over, (which indeed disappointed all our hopes both of men and money in that great county,) and, on the other side, if that place were reduced, (as sir Richard Greenevill undertook it should be in six days, and others who had viewed it thought it not a work of time,) besides the terror it would strike into their neighbours, that there would be an army of 4000 horse and 5000 foot ready to be applied to any service they should be directed, and that then the lord Goring might prosecute his commission in Sussex and Kent, with such a reasonable recruit of foot as should be necessary, and yet his highness enabled in a short time to be in the head of a very good army raised out of the four associated counties, either for the reducing the few other places which were garrisoned by the rebels, or to march towards his majesty: I say, upon these considerations, the Prince, with the privity and advice of prince Rupert, (who was then at Bristol, and present at the whole consultation, and the
April 11. principal adviser in it) wrote upon the 11th of April to the lord Goring, being then about Wells, that his opinion was, that the horse and dragoons under his lordship's command should advance from the quarters where they then were, (much to the prejudice of that county,) into Dorsetshire or Wiltshire, or into both of them, and that the foot and cannon should march directly towards Taunton, according to the design formerly

proposed by his lordship; and referred it to himself, whether his lordship in person would stay with the horse or go with the foot; and desired to receive his opinion and resolution upon the whole; there being nothing proposed to be acted in two days. This letter was sent by colonel Windham, the governor of Bridgewater, who came that day from Taunton from sir Richard Greenevill, and could best inform him of the strength of the town, and the condition of sir Richard Greenevill's forces. 1645

14. The next day colonel Windham returned, with a short sullen letter from the lord Goring to the Prince[1], that he had, according to his command, sent the foot and cannon to Taunton, and the horse to the other places; and that since there was now nothing for him to do, he was gone to Bath to intend his health: where he complained privately that his forces were taken from him at a time when he meant to pursue Waller, and could utterly defeat him, and so inveighed against the Prince's council for sending orders to him so prejudicial to the King's service; whereas it was only an opinion, and not orders, grounded upon what himself had formerly proposed, and to which he was desired to return his present judgment, being within half a day's journey of the Prince, upon whom he ought to have attended, or presented his advice to him, if what was then offered seemed not convenient. But after some days frolickly spent at Bath he returned to his former temper, and, waiting on the Prince at Bristol, was contented to be told that he had been more apprehensive of discourtesies than he had cause; and so all misunderstandings seemed to be fairly made up. April 11.

15. The lord Goring's foot and cannon being thus suddenly sent to Taunton, under the command of sir Joseph Wagstaffe, for the better preventing all mistakes and contests about command, the Prince sent the lords Capell and Culpeper to Taunton, to settle all disputes that might arise, and to dispose the county to assist that work in the best manner; which

[1] [Compare the letter to lord Culpeper entered in *Cal. Clar. S. P.* i. 263.]

1645 proved very fortunate; for the same day they came thither, sir Richard Greenevill having brought his forces within musket-shot on one side of Taunton, went himself to view Wellington House, five miles distant, in which the rebels had a garrison, and was, out of a window, shot in the thigh, with which he fell, the wound being then conceived to be mortal: so that there was no person who could pretend to command, those under Greenevill having no experienced officer of reputation equal to that charge, yet, being superior in number to the other, would not be commanded by sir Joseph Wagstaffe; so that if the lords had not very happily been present, it is probable both those bodies of foot, each being too weak for the attempt by itself, would, if not disbanded, at best have retired to their former posts, and left those of Taunton at liberty to have done what they thought best. But they being there, and sir John Barkly being in that instant come thither to meet them, with an account of the state of Devonshire, they persuaded him to undertake the present charge of the whole, (all the officers of both parts having formerly received orders from him,) and to prosecute the former design upon the town; all persons submitting till the Prince's pleasure should be farther known; those officers under sir Richard Greenevill presently sending away an express to Bristol, to desire the lord Hopton to take the command of them. But his lordship had no mind to enter upon any particular action with disjointed forces, till, upon the remove of the lord Goring, the whole command might be executed according to former establishment; and so a special direction was sent to all the officers and soldiers to obey sir J. Barkly, according to what had been formerly settled by the lords; who, in few days, put the business in very good order, and by storm took Wellington House, where Greenevill had been hurt. I cannot omit here, that the lords, coming to visit Greenevill in the instant that he was put into his litter and carrying to Exciter, told him what they had thought necessary to be done in the point of command; the which he seeming very well to approve, they desired him to call his officers, (most of the principal being there present,) and to command them to

proceed in the work in hand cheerfully under the command of 1645
sir J. Barkly; the which he promised to do, and immediately said somewhat to his officers at the side of his litter, which the lords conceived to be what he had promised: but it appeared after that it was not so, and very probably was the contrary; for neither officer nor soldier did his duty after he was gone, during the time sir John Barkly commanded in that action.

16. The Prince finding the public service in no degree advanced by the commissioners of Somerset, and that though there was no progress made in the association affected and undertaken by them, yet it served to cross and oppose all other attempts whatsoever, those who had no mind to do any thing satisfying themselves with the visible impossibility of that design, and yet the other who had first proposed it thinking themselves engaged to consent to no alteration; and his highness being informed by a gentleman[1], (sent by him, at his first coming to Bristol, to the two farthest western counties, to press the execution of whatsoever was promised in order to the association,) that those two counties of Devon and Cornwall were entirely devoted to serve the Prince in what manner soever he should propose, he thought fit to summon the commissioners of all the associated counties to attend upon him in some convenient place, where, upon full considerations, such conclusions might be made as might best advance the work in hand, both for the reduction of Taunton and raising a marching army; which counsel had been sooner given, and had in truth been fit to be put in practice upon his first coming to Bristol, when he discerned the flatness, peremptoriness, and unactivity of the gentlemen of Somerset; from whom it was evident nothing was to be expected, till by the unanimity and strength of the two western counties that county could be driven and compelled to do what was necessary, and to recede from their own sullen and positive determinations; which had been easy to do, but that shortly after he came to Bristol, upon what apprehensions no man knew, there was great jealousy at Oxford of his going farther west, and thereupon direction given that he

[1] [The name 'Mr. Hinton' is here struck out.]

1645 should not remove from Bristol but upon weighty reasons, and with which his majesty was to be first acquainted; whereas by his instructions he was to make his residence in such place as by the council should be thought most conducing to his affairs. However, such a meeting with all the commissioners being demonstrably necessary, and Bristol thought too great a distance from the west, besides that the plague began to break out there very much for the time of the year, his highness resolved to go to Bridgewater for a few days, and to summon thither the commissioners, the rather to give some countenance to the business of Taunton, then closely besieged by sir J. Barkly; and to that purpose directed his letters to the several commissioners to attend him there on Wednesday the 23rd of April; the King being then at Oxford, preparing for the field, prince Rupert at Worcester, levying men, and the rebels at London in some disorder and confusion about their new model, having newly removed the earl of Essex, and earl of Manchester, earl of Denbigh, and sir William Waller, from any command, and substituted sir Thomas Fayrefax general, who was, out of the other broken and almost dissolved forces, to mould an army, which was then in no very hopeful forwardness.

April 23. 17. Upon the day the Prince came to Bridgewater, and was attended by a great body of the commissioners of Somerset, that place being near the centre of that great county; for Dorsetshire, as sent from the rest, appeared sir John Strangwyse, Mr. Angell Grey, and Mr. Ryves; for Devonshire, sir Peter Ball, sir George Parry, Mr. St. Hill, and Mr. Muddyford; and from Cornwall, sir H. Killegrew, Mr. Coriton, Mr. Scawen, and Mr. Roscarroth. The whole body waited on the Prince the next morning; and were then told that his coming thither was to receive their advice, and to give his assistance in what might concern the peace and welfare of each particular county, and might best advance the general service of the King; that if the association which had been proposed seemed to them, by the accidents and mutations which had happened since the time of that first proposal,) as in truth very notable ones had happened,) not fit now to be further prosecuted, that he was ready

to consent to any alteration they should propose and to join 1645
with them in any other expedient; and wished them therefore to confer together what was best to be done; and when they were ready to propose any thing to him, he would be ready to receive it. After two or three days' consultation amongst themselves, they were unanimously of opinion (except sir John Stowell, who, against all the rest, and against all that could be said to him, continued positive for the general rising of *One and All*, and for that alone) that that design was for the present to be laid aside: and that instead thereof, those counties, according to their several known proportions, would in a very short time (as I remember, a month was the utmost) raise and arm 6000 foot, besides the Prince's guards, (which would be full 2000 more) not reckoning those of the lord Goring's (which were 1500), but including the foot of sir John Barkly and sir Richard Greenevill then before Taunton, which all men concluded would be reduced in less than a month. This proposition being approved by the Prince, all particulars were agreed upon: the several days for the rendezvous of the new levies, and the officers to whom the men were to be delivered, named, and warrants issued out accordingly: all things requisite for the speedy reduction of Taunton ordered and directed; so that in order to the taking that place, and to the raising an army speedily, all things stood so fair that more could not be wished.

18. As this journey to Bridgewater wrought this good effect, so it produced one notable inconvenience, and discovered another. The Prince, having before his coming from Oxford been very little conversant with business, nor spent his time so well towards the improvement of his mind and understanding as might have been expected from his years and fortune[1], had been persuaded, from his coming out, to sit frequently, if not constantly, in council, to mark and consider the state of affairs, and to accustom himself to a habit of speaking and judging upon what was said; to the which he had with great ingenuity applied himself. But, coming to Bridgewater, and having an

[1] [The words 'nor spent—fortune' are struck out in the MS.]

1645 extraordinary kindness [1] for Mrs. Windham, who had been his nurse, he was not only diverted by her folly and petulancy from applying himself to the serious consideration of his business, but accustomed to hear her speak negligently and scornfully of the council; which, though it made no impression in him of disrespect towards them, encouraged other people who heard it to the like liberty; and from thence grew an irreverence towards them, which reflected upon him, and served to bring prejudice to their councils throughout the whole course. She had besides many private designs of benefit and advantage to herself and her children, besides the qualifying her husband to do all acts of power without control upon his neighbours, and laboured to procure grants or promises of reversions of lands from the Prince; and, finding that the Prince was not to transact any such thing without the advice of the council, and that they were not like to comply in those enterprises, she laboured to raise jealousies and dislike between them, and kindled such a faction in the Prince his family as produced many inconveniences. For from hence sir Charles Bonkely, who had a promise to be made controller of the Prince's household, and Mr. Longe, who had the like promise to be his secretary, when he should be created Prince of Wales, (till which time those officers are never made,) began to think that they had injury that they were not presently of the Prince's council, to which the places they were to have gave them title; though they knew well, that the lords who then attended upon the Prince were of the King's Privy Council, and in that capacity only waited upon him, and that the other were of the Prince his own council for his revenue, and for the administration of the duchy of Cornwall, for which his highness had now his livery [2].

[1] [The word 'kindness' is substituted for 'fondness, if not affection.']

[2] ['and kindled—had now his livery.' These lines are substituted in the MS. for the following, which have not been before printed:—'in which she prospered so far that she infused an opinion into the earl of Berkshire that the rest of the council neglected and contemned him, and thereupon wrought so far with him that from that time he grew more indisposed to concur with, and so neglected in his particular charge of the Prince's person to second, those animadversions which were necessary to be given to him; and did not only impart what was said in council upon the

19. However, these fancies, thus weakly grounded and entertained, made such an impression upon those persons that they united themselves into a faction, and prevailed over the weakness of the earl of Barkshire to join with them, and by degrees joined with all discontented persons to render the council to be too much neglected and undervalued. Lastly, being a woman of great rudeness and a country pride, *nihil muliebre præter corpus gerens*[1], she valued herself much upon the power and familiarity which her neighbours might see she had with the Prince of Wales, and therefore upon all occasions in company, and when the concourse of the people was greatest, would use great boldness towards him[2]; and, which was worse than all this, she affected in all companies, (where she let herself out to any freedom,) a very negligent and disdainful mention of the person of the King[3]; the knowledge of which was the true reason that made his majesty not willing that his son should go farther west than Bristol, since he knew Bridgewater must be a stage in that motion. And this ill disposition of hers was no sooner known to the lords, who were all absolute strangers to her, than they looked[4] that his highness should make no longer residence in that garrison. 1645

20. The other inconvenience that it discovered was the design of the lord Goring to have the command of the west. For then it grew very apparent that, whatever had been pretended for Kent or Sussex, he had from the beginning affected that charge: and I fear had some other encouragement for it than was then avowed. And therefore from his first coming

necessary debate of things and persons, but contributed what he could to the undervalueing of his fellows, and had always some petty trivial correspondence with Mr. Longe and others, contrary to what had before been performed between them.']

[1] [Vell. Paterculus, *Hist. Rom.*, ii. 74.]

[2] [The following words are here struck out:—'and sometimes in dancing would run the length of the room and kiss him: add to this, that she affected' &c.]

[3] [The following words are here struck out:—'all which made us desire that the Prince should be as little in her company as might be.']

[4] [This appears to be the word in the MS. In former editions it is printed 'took [care].']

1645 into those parts he had with great industry caressed the commissioners of Somerset and Devon, and especially those whom he thought any way inclined against the lord Hopton, whom by all ill arts he endeavoured to undervalue; inveighing against the too great contribution assigned to the garrison of Bristol, and that any should be allowed to the unnecessary garrison (as he called it) at Lamport, which had been lately settled by the lord Hopton, and as appears afterwards, was of vast importance: those discourses being most popular to the country, though most pernicious to the King: and promised great strictness and severity of discipline if that power under the Prince might be devolved to him. To Bridgewater he came at the same time from Bath, upon pretence of visiting Taunton, and seeing whether the work were like to be soon done, that it might be worth the intending it; but, in truth, to drive on his project for command with the commissioners, who were invited by sir Peter Ball to make it one of their propositions to the Prince that the lord Goring might be constituted his lieutenant general; which he himself had so absolutely digested, that, as if the matter itself had been out of question, he proposed privately to most of the Prince's council the rules that should be observed between them in the government of the army and the administration of the civil part. Some, of no extraordinary kindness to Goring, wished the agreement made, and him settled in the command, as the best, if not the only, expedient for advancement of the King's service, and for the speedy forming an army worthy of the Prince's own person in the head of it; apprehending that the dividing his forces from the new levies would leave a good body of foot without an equal power of horse, and without a train, except a longer time were given for the making it than the state of affairs promised to permit. But when he discovered by his discourse with several of the council, (with whom he communicated upon the argument very freely, and expressed in plain English that except he might be satisfied in the particulars he proposed, he should have no heart to proceed in the public service,) that they would not consent to any act that might reflect upon the lord Hopton, and that some of them

had such a prejudice to his person that they would make no 1645
conjunction with him, he resolved to compass his ends some other way; and so pressed it no farther in any public address to the Prince at that time. It is not to be omitted, that he was then offered and assured, that, as soon as the business of Taunton should be over, he should have such a recruit out of the new levies as would make up his own foot three thousand men, besides officers, with which he might well prosecute his former design; and in the mean time he had the absolute command, the lord Hopton not at all interposing, or meddling with the army[1].

[1] [The following passages are here struck out in the MS. :—

'Besides that this proposition of the lord Goring's clearly altered the whole frame of any design laid at Oxford, and [was] tending to the visible dishonour of the lord Hopton, whom the Prince was obliged by all obligations of honour and justice to preserve from such an affront, I cannot dissemble myself to have contracted so steady a resolution, upon the former passages of the lord Goring's life and the observation of his nature, not to mingle with him in any action or counsel of trust and importance, (though truly his particular deportment to me was not only full of civilities but of extreme endearment, and his conversation, with reference to my own humour and appetite, full of pleasure and delight,) that if I could have imagined the least purpose of joining him to us when we came from Oxford, I should rather have submitted to any censure his majesty would have imposed on me than [have] undertaken the other trust. When we returned from the treaty at Uxbridge, he was newly departed the town towards Salisbury, (some disputes with prince Rupert having brought him thither, and continued him there some days,) and had met, three or four miles from the town, colonel Ashburnham, to whom he very freely expressed his discontents, with very contemptuous expressions and language of the King and Queen; said, that his father was used with great injustice and barbarism in France, and disgraced by the Queen and her ministers; that he was only courted here for his interest in the soldier, and because the King could not be without him; but swore, that as soon as he had put himself into such a posture as he doubted not he should be shortly in, he would make them do his father and himself justice, or they should repent it: all which col. Ashburnham informed me and many others before we left Oxford.

'When we came to Bristol, my lady Dalkeith sent me word by Nall Apsley, that, Goring being then at Exciter with many of his chief officers, in most notorious, scandalous disorder, lieutenant-general Porter came to her, and, inveighing much against lord Goring, told her that he would at some time or other betray the King, and that he had a design to be lieutenant-general to the Prince, (which was the first hint I had, or I

1645 21. It was now concluded by all men who had well considered his carriage and behaviour from his first coming into the west, that, as he had formed that design in his own thoughts from the first, of being about the Prince, and resolved never to march with the army under prince Rupert, (whose nature was not agreeable to him,) so that he had purposely and willingly suffered Vandruske to relieve Taunton, and even Waymoth to be again recovered by that handful of men who had been beaten out of it, lest the business of the west might be done without him, or by other men, and that his presence there might not be thought necessary. For if Taunton had been reduced, as it must have been if that small party had not relieved it even in the last article, he could have had no pretence to have stayed in those parts, but must immediately have pursued his former design upon Sussex, and those other counties, for which he had never any reasonable foundation; or have continued his march to the King, which he had less mind to do. And when he first left Oxford and went into Hampshire, which was before the end of the treaty at Uxbridge, he had in his jovial fits, (when he was always very unreserved,) declared, with a great resentment, that his father was ill treated by the Queen in France, and that he hoped to find himself in such a posture shortly that the King should find it reasonable to use both his father and

believe any in our company, that he affected that charge;) but that if ever he had the Prince in his power, he would give him up to the rebels. These animadversions, with the licence that he always took to himself, both in words and actions, and gave to his soldiers, who exercised all disorders, in contempt of all religion and government, made me very unwilling that the Prince should either venture his person with such a person or his hope and innocency with such an army, which I could not imagine God could prosper in any thing they undertook, or make them the instruments of any happiness to the King or kingdom; and confirmed me in the resolution of preserving myself from acting any part with him. It is true that, at the same time, lord Goring inveighed as much to the lady Dalkeith against Porter for cowardice and treachery, and writ then to me by Nall Apsley to move the Prince to send some officer (whereupon the lord Wentworth was sent) to command the horse, because he could not trust his brother Porter either in conduct or courage; and told me afterwards that he suspected him for correspondence with the enemy, not only because his wife lived amongst them, but because he knew he had often writ and sent to the enemy without giving him notice of it.']

himself better. And yet the King had even then, upon his suit, made his father captain of his guard of halberdiers[1], and created him earl of Norwitch, by which himself had the appellation of lord, which he enough affected: and in his first deboshes at Exciter, his brother Porter, who was lieutenant general of his horse, informed some persons of honour in confidence, that Goring resolved to make himself lieutenant general to the Prince, or else to be very discontented. And this advertisement was sent to some of the council upon his highness's first coming to Bristol, and was the first hint that ever they received as if he had affected that charge; and was not, with the rest of his behaviour, like to dispose them to wish that he might obtain his desire, but to do all that was in their power to prevent it. 1645 1644. Nov. 28.

22. The general business concerning the four counties being agreed and settled at Bridgewater, the commissioners for Devon desired to be heard in what concerned that particular county; and then informed his highness, that, upon sir Richard Greenevill's first entering upon the work of Plimmoth, and his assurance that he would take the town before Christmas Day, (which undertaking I myself saw under his hand,) and that he would forthwith raise, arm, and pay 1200 horse and 6000 foot, they had assigned him above one half of their whole contribution, amounting to above £1100 the week; and, for the providing arms and ammunition, had assigned him the arrears of the contribution due from those hundreds allotted to him; which amounted to near £6000; he having likewise the whole contribution of Cornwall, being above £700 weekly, and had received most part of the letter and subscription money of that county towards the same service: that he had from his first entering upon the charge quietly enjoyed those contributions in Devon, which were duly paid, and had received the greatest part of the arrears assigned to him for the provision of arms and ammunition: notwithstanding all which, he had never bought above twenty barrels of powder, or any arms, but had received both the one and the other from them out of their

[1] ['habbadeers,' MS.]

1645 magazines; and had never maintained or raised near half the number of men to which he was obliged, till the week before he was required to march to Taunton, when he had called the *posse comitatus*, and thence forced almost the whole number of foot which marched with him thither, bringing them with him to Exciter unarmed, and there compelled the commissioners to supply him with arms and ammunition; that having left not 2000 foot and 400 horse before Plimmoth, he continued still to receive the whole contribution formerly assigned when he was to have 1200 horse and 6000 foot, and would not part with any of it: so that he received more out of Devonshire for the blocking up of Plimmoth, (having all Cornwall to himself likewise,) than was left for the garrisons of Exciter, Dartmouth, Bar[n]-stable, and Tiverton, and for the finishing those fortifications, victualling the garrisons, providing arms and ammunition; with which they had not only supplied themselves, but had sent great quantities to the King's army, to lord Goring, and the siege of Taunton: that he would not suffer them to send any warrants to collect the letter and subscription money, to settle the excise, or meddle with delinquents' estates in the hundreds assigned to him for contribution; and had those continual contests with sir John Barkly, being colonel general of the county, and the other governors of garrisons, pretending that he had power to command them, that there was such an animosity grown between them, that they very much apprehended the danger of those divisions, there having been some blood shed and men killed upon their private contests: and therefore besought his highness, by his authority to settle their limits of their several jurisdictions in order to the martial affairs; and likewise to order sir Richard Greenevill to receive no more contribution than would suffice for the maintenance of those men who continued before Plimmoth, whereby they could be only enabled to perform their parts of the Association.

23. This was pressed with so much earnestness and reason, that it was thought very counsellable for his highness himself to go to Exciter, where both the commissioners and sir Richard Greenevill were, and there, upon the hearing of all that could

be said, to settle the whole disputes. But at the same time, 1645
and whilst that matter was in consideration, letters came from his majesty to his highness and the lords, expressly inhibiting his going farther westward; upon what reasons I cannot imagine; and thereupon the Prince himself returned to Bristol on Wednesday the 30th of April, having stayed at Bridgewater only seven days; and sent the lords Capell and Culpeper, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to Exciter, with instructions to examine all the complaints and allegations of the commissioners, and to settle the business of the contributions; and, upon view of the several commissions of sir John Barkly and sir Richard Greenevill, so to agree the matter of jurisdiction that the public service might not be obstructed[1].

24. As soon as the lords appointed by his highness to go to Exciter came thither, they went the same hour to visit sir Richard Greenevill, who was still bed-rid of his hurt. They intended it only as a visit, and so would not reply at that time to many very sharp and bitter complaints and invectives he made against sir J. Barkly, (who was then at the leaguer before Taunton,) but told him that they would come to him again the next day, and consider of all businesses. Accordingly they came, when, with great bitterness, he again complained of the governor, and some disrespects from his lieutenant governor: but when he was pressed to particulars, he mentioned principally some high and disdainful speeches, the most of which were denied by the other, and the withholding some prisoners from him, which he had sent his marshal for near Taunton. The truth of which was this: whilst sir Richard was before Taunton, he had sent for one Mr. Symms, a justice of peace of the county, and a rich and decrepit man, who lived within three miles of that town. He charged him with some inclination to the rebels, and of favouring their proceedings. The gentleman stood upon his justification and innocence, and desired to be put

[1] [The following lines are here struck out in the MS.:—'And from hence I shall continue the discourse throughout all the agitations concerning sir R. Greenevill to the time of his commitment; in which himself had taken great pains to have it thought he had very hard measure, and that thereby his majesty's service much suffered in the west.']

1645 upon any trial. However, sir Richard told him he was a traitor, and should redeem himself at £1000, or else he would proceed in another way; and gave him three days to provide the money. Before the time expired, he was hurt, and carried to Exciter; whither he no sooner came but he despatched his marshal to fetch Mr. Symms to him, who appealed to sir J. Barkly, who had then the command, and desired to be put upon any trial; and (besides that he was of a very infirm body, and unfit for travel) many gentlemen of the best quality gave him a very good testimony, and undertook for his appearance whenever he should be called upon. Upon this sir J. B[arkly] discharged the marshal, and writ a very civil letter to sir R. Greenevill of the whole matter, and that he would see the gentleman forth-coming upon the least warning, but that it would be an act of great cruelty to carry him a prisoner in that indisposition of health from his house. Sir Richard looked upon this as the robbing him of £1000, and writ such a letter to sir J. Barkly, so full of ill language and reproach, as I have never seen the like from and to a gentleman; and complained to us of the injury. We told him, that neither he nor sir John Barkly had any authority to meddle with Mr. Symms, or any persons of that quality, who could not be looked upon as prisoners of war; but if in truth he should prove to be a delinquent, and guilty of those crimes objected against him, his fine and composition was due to the King, who had assigned the same to the Prince for the public service; and that there were commissioners before whom he was regularly to be tried, and with whom he might only compound. He would not understand the reason of this, but insisted upon sir John Barkly's protecting him, as a great indignity to him. On the other hand, sir J. Barkly complained by his letters, that those soldiers brought to Taunton by Greenevill every day mouldered away; and he had reason to believe it was by his direction, for that those that stayed, and the officers, were very backward in performing their duties; and that after the taking of Wellington House he had commanded that nothing should be done towards the defacing it, because it might possibly be fit to put a garrison into it, if

the siege should be raised from Taunton, but that the officer who was under Greenevill had, notwithstanding such command, burned it: that he proceeded in the levying monies, and sending out extravagant warrants throughout the county; and many other particulars. 1645

25. Sir Richard Greenevill denied that the soldiers left the leaguer or that Wellington House was burned by any direction of his; though it appeared that all such soldiers as left their colours and came to him were kindly used, and had money given to them by him; and that lieutenant-colonel Robinson, after he had received orders from sir J. B[arkly] not to slight Wellington House, rid to Exciter to sir R. G[reenevill], and immediately upon his return from him caused it to be burnt. He said, that he levied no monies, nor issued out any warrants, but what he had authority to do by his commission. In the end they shewed him their instructions from the Prince throughly to examine all differences between them, and, upon view of both their commissions, to agree what limits each of them should observe. Thereupon he shewed them his commission in paper, under his majesty's sign manual, attested by the lord Digby, by which he was authorized to command the forces before Plimmoth, and, in order thereunto, with such clauses of latitude and power, as he might both raise the *posse*, and command the train-bands, and indeed the whole forces, of both counties; and was to receive orders from his majesty and his lieutenant-general; and was likewise at that time high sheriff of Devon. Sir John Barkly's commission was precedent, and more formal, being under the Great Seal of England, of colonel general of the counties of Devon and Cornwall, and to command the whole forces of both counties, as well train-bands as others. So that though their commissions were not in intention all one, yet they included clauses and powers so much the same that either of them had authority enough to disturb the other; and he that only saw his own, might reasonably think he had power over the other; which, between persons so disinclined one to the other as they were grown to be, might have proved very fatal if the remedy had not been so near in his highness's authority. April 23.

1645 26. After the perusal of their commissions, they shewed him their instructions concerning the regulating the contributions in proportionable assignments for the several services; and desired his opinion what forces were now necessary for the blocking up of Plimmoth, since any attempt for the taking it was to be laid aside, at least for a time; and that thereupon, such assignation might be made to that purpose as was sufficient, and the rest otherwise disposed of. He told them that the forces then there (being about 1500 foot and 400 horse on the Devonshire side) were sufficient, and proposed allowance little enough for the service; and then said, that it troubled him to be confined to such an employment as the blocking up a place, whilst there was like to be so much action in the field; and therefore he hoped his highness would give him leave to wait on him in the army, where he thought he might do him much better service. They told him, they had authority from the Prince, (for some of his friends had mentioned the same, soon after he had received his wound,) if they found his health able to bear it and his inclination lead him that way, to let him know, that [the Prince[1]] would be glad of his service in the moulding that army was then raising, (which, allowing 2000 foot to the recruiting of the lord Goring, would be in view 6000 foot, and above 2000 horse, with the guards,) in which he had designed him the second place of command. But then they said, they knew not where to place the command of Plimmoth. Sir Richard very cheerfully received the proposition for himself in the army; and for Plimmoth, he said, no man was fit to undertake the work there but sir John Barkly, who had the command of both counties: that it was visible, by the differences and breaches that had been between them, how inconvenient it would be to have that charge independent; whereas if it were in one hand, the unanimous consent of both counties, and all the forces in them, would more easily do the business.

27. All things being thus agreed upon, as far as it could be without sir J. Barkly's consent, who was then before Taunton, the lords resolved to return to the Prince, and in their way to

[1] ['he,' MS.]

dispose sir John Barkly to what had been proposed; and left 1645
the Chancellor of the Exchequer at Exciter to agree with the commissioners upon the settlement of the contributions, and to settle some other particulars which they had resolved upon. The whole contribution of the county of Devon amounted to £2000 weekly; whereof so many hundreds were assigned by the commissioners for the maintenance of the forces before Plimmoth as amounted to the just proportion and establishment proposed by sir R. Greenevill himself[1], and then so many to the garrisons of Exciter, Dartmoth, Bar[n]stable, and Tiverton, as amounted to the payment of such forces as on all hands were agreed to be absolutely necessary for their defence at the lowest establishment. All which being done upon supposition that the whole contribution, (being £2000 weekly,) would be, according to the assignments, exactly paid, there remained not a penny overplus, for the buying ammunition and arms, for the finishing fortifications, for victualling the garrisons, or for blocking up of Lyme; which if it were not done, all that part of the country would be liable to that pressure, and so, unable to pay contribution where it was assigned. But it was supposed the last might be done by drawing out some numbers from the several garrisons, if there were no disturbance from abroad; and the rest must be supplied out of the excise, (the major part whereof was by the King assigned for the support of the princess [Henrietta,]) and some other extraordinary ways that must be thought of: the letter money and subscription money being almost exhausted[2].

[1] [The lines, 'The whole—himself' are substituted in the MS. for the following. 'Sir Richard Greenevill having yet the command before Plimmoth (where there were, as is said before, but 1500 foot and 300 horse, nor had been since his coming to Taunton, which was full 6 weeks,) proceeded in the collecting the whole contributions assigned for 6000 foot and 1200 horse; and therefore the commissioners desired to expedite the establishments and assignments to the several garrisons; and so, upon great deliberation and debate between the commissioners, I being always present, they assigned the contributions of so many hundreds to the maintenance of the forces before Plimmoth as amounted to the just proportion and establishment proposed by sir Richard Greenevill.']

[2] [The following lines are here struck out in the MS.:—'These several

1645 28. His highness was no sooner returned to Bristol from Bridgewater, which was on the last day of April, than general Goring was sent for by the King to draw his horse and dragoons towards Oxford, that thereby his majesty might free himself from Cromwell, who, with a very strong party of horse and dragoons, lay in wait to interrupt his joining with prince Rupert about Worcester. How unwelcome soever these orders were to the lord Goring, yet there was no remedy but he must obey them: and it was now hoped that the west should be hereafter freed from him, where he was at that time very ungracious. And he marched with that expedition towards the King, who was then at Woodstock, that he fell upon a horse quarter of Cromwell's, and another party of Fayrefax['s] horse, as they were attempting a passage over the river of Isis[1], so prosperously, (the very evening before he came to the King,) that he broke and defeated them with a great slaughter, which gave him great reputation, and made him exceedingly welcome. And it was indeed a very seasonable action, to discountenance and break such a party in the infancy of their new model; and did break their present measures, and made Fayrefax to appoint a new place of rendezvous for his new army, at a greater distance from the King's forces.

29. Prince Rupert, who now met with very little opposition in council, had, throughout the winter, disposed the King to resolve to march northward, and to fall upon the Scots' army in

assignations and establishments being set down in paper, some of the commissioners and myself visited sir Richard Greenevill, who, having still the command before Plimmoth, and so concerned in it, besides that those hundreds of which at that time he received the contributions was hereby otherwise dispersed, was fit to be advised with and heard before any positive agreement, and so left the paper with him that night to consider. The next day, when we came to him again, (and I forgot to say that, both during the time of the lords being there and after, we never visited him without the earl of Bristol or lord Pawlett's being present, or one of them, who were both favourers of him, and neither of them of much kindness to sir [J.] Barkly,) we found him much disquieted at the assignments and establishments, telling us that he could not consent to it, for that there was nothing assigned or left for the payment of his men before Taunton;' &c., as in § 52 *infra*.]

[1] [At Radcot, May 7. Walker's *Hist. Disc.* p. 104; Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva*, edit. 1854, p. 16.]

Yorkshire before Fayrefax should be able to perfect his new 1645
model to that degree as to take the field. And this design was not unreasonable, nor the prince to blame for desiring to take revenge on them who had affronted him so terribly the last year; which, now they were separated from the English, who had indeed defeated him, he believed was easy to be done. And that purpose of marching northward was now the more hastened that in the way Chester might be relieved, which was closely besieged, and then they might come soon enough to Pomfrett Castle, which the Scots' army was before; and if they could defeat that, the King would be again, upon the matter, master of the north, which, by the insolence of the Scots, and the dislike they had of the new model, was conceived to be better affected than ever. The next day after Goring came to the King, the army was drawn to a rendezvous, and consisted then of five thousand foot and above six thousand horse; an army not to be reasonably lessened in the beginning of a *campania*, when the King was to expect to have so much to do; and if it had been kept together, it is very probable that the summer might have been crowned with better success.

30. Fayrefax was then about Newbery, not in readiness to march, yet reported to be much more unready than he was, and that his design was to carry his whole army to the relief of Taunton, which was brought almost to extremity; which, if he could bring to pass, would give him great reputation, and would make the Parliament near sharers with the King in the interest of the west. Upon this prospect it was thought reasonable, and accordingly proposed, that the King himself would march with his army into the west, and thereby not only prevent the relief of Taunton but compel Fayrefax to fight before he should be able to join with Cromwell, who had not yet gathered his troops together. And this was the concurrent advice of the whole council with which the King used to advise, prince Rupert only excepted, and sir Marmaduke Langdale, who commanded the northern horse, which were impatient to be in their own country. Now the very contrary affections towards each other between prince Rupert and the lord Goring began to

1645 cooperate to one and the same end. The prince found that Goring, as a man of a ready wit and an excellent speaker, was like to have most credit with the King in all debates, and was jealous that, by his friendship with the lord Digby, he would quickly get such an interest with his majesty that his credit would be much eclipsed. Hereupon, he did no less desire that Goring should return again into the west than Goring did not to remain where he commanded. This produced a great confidence and friendship between them, and the prince told him all that any of the council had spoken freely to him, when his highness abhorred nothing more than that Goring should be near the Prince of Wales; and Goring said all of the council which he believed would most irreconcile him to them; and so they both agreed to do all they could to lessen their credit and authority. The King was desired to receive the information and state of the west from Goring; who, upon the late good fortune he had and by the artifices of the lord Digby, was too easily believed. He informed the King with all imaginable confidence, that if, by the positive command of the Prince, contrary to his opinion and advice, his forces had not been taken from him and applied to the siege of Taunton, he had doubtless totally ruined all Waller's forces, and prevented the coming of those parties who had given his majesty so much trouble at Oxford: that he had been always used upon his resort to the Prince with great disrespect, being not called into the council, but put to an attendance without, amongst inferior suitors; and then told many particular passages at Bridgewater, of which he raised advantage to himself upon the prejudice he begat to others.

31. Whereas the truth of the design upon Taunton is before set down, with all the circumstances; and Waller was marched beyond Salisbury before the lord Goring knew where he was, and confessed there was no overtaking him; and he had always received as much respect from the Prince and council as could be given to a subject, being constantly called and admitted to council when he was present, and when absent, opinions and advice sent to him from the council upon such particulars as himself proposed, with a full reference to his discretion, to do,

upon the place as he judged most meet. Yet, I say, he got so 1645
much credit, that the King, by his letter of the 10th of May to the Prince, directed that general Goring should be admitted into all consultations and debates, and advised withal as if he were one of the established council; that prince Rupert having granted him power to give commissions in that army, all commissions to be granted should pass by general Goring; and that none should be granted by the Prince in his own name, otherwise than in such cases as were of relation merely to the Association: that the council should contribute their opinions and advices to general Goring, but that his highness should carefully forbear to give unto the lord Goring any positive or binding orders; whereas by his instructions when he came from Oxford, he was to put both his commissions of generalissimo and of general of the Association in execution as he found most convenient, his majesty himself then entertaining very little hope of the Association, as it was proposed, and therefore, by his letters to the Prince of the 20th of April, which came to him at Bridgewater, all the assignations formerly made towards the Association were directed to be disposed and converted to such uses as by the advice of his council should be found most advantageous to the service of those parts; and thereupon the levies were consented to and directed as is before mentioned. And with these triumphant orders the lord Goring returned May 9.
into the west; where we shall now leave him, and wait upon his majesty in his unfortunate march, until we find cause enough to lament that counsel which so fatally dismissed him and his forces at a time in which, (if he were born to serve his country,) his presence might have been of great use and benefit to the King; which it was never after in any occasion.

32. When Goring was thus separated from the King's army his majesty marched to E[ve]sham, and in his way drew out his May 9.
garrison from Cambden House; which had brought no other benefit to the public than the enriching the licentious governor thereof[1], who exercised an illimited tyranny over the whole

[1] [Sir Henry Bard. Sir E. Walker (*Hist. Disc.* p. 126) says that the house was burned by prince Rupert's command.]

1645 country, and took his leave of it in wantonly burning the noble structure, where he had too long inhabited, and which not many years before had cost above thirty thousand pounds the building.
May 26. Within few days after the King left E[ve]sham, it was surprised by the enemy, or rather stormed and taken for want of men to defend the works, and the governor and all the little garrison made prisoners. The loss of this place was an ill omen to the succeeding summer, and, upon the matter, cut off all the intercourse between Worcester and Oxford; nor was it at all repaired
May 14. by the taking of Hawkesly House in Worcestershire, which the rebels had fortified and made strong, and which the King's army took in two days, and therein the governor and one hundred and twenty prisoners, who served to redeem those who were lost in E[ve]sham. And so, by easy and slow marches, they prosecuted their journey towards Chester. But in Staffordshire the lord Byron, who was governor of Chester, met the King, and informed him that the rebels upon the noise of his majesty's advance were drawn off; and so there was no more to be done but to prosecute the northern design; which was now intended, and the army upon its march accordingly, when intelligence was brought that Fayrefax had sent a strong party to relieve Taunton, and was himself with his army sat down before Oxford. This could not but make some alteration, at least a pause in the execution of the former counsels: and yet Oxford was known to be in so good a condition that the loss of it could not be in any degree apprehended, and nothing could more reasonably have been wished than that Fayrefax should be throughly engaged before it: and it was concluded, that the best way to draw him from thence would be to fall upon some place possessed by the Parliament.

33. And they had no considerable town so near the place where the King then was as Leicester; in which there was a good garrison, under the command of sir Robert Pye; and prince Rupert (who was always well pleased with any brisk attempt,) cheerfully entertained the first motion, and sent sir
May 29. Marmaduke Langdale forthwith to surround it (which was of great extent) with his horse; and the next day, being the last

of May, the whole army was drawn about the town, and the 1645
prince, having taken a view of it, commanded a battery to be May 30.
forthwith raised against an old high stone wall, on the south side of the town; which, by his own continued presence, was finished with admirable diligence: which done, he sent a summons to the governor, who returned not such an answer as was required. And thereupon the battery began to play, and in the space of four hours made such a breach that it was thought counsellable the same night to make a general assault with the whole army in several places, but principally at the breach; which was defended with great courage and resolution, insomuch that the King's forces were twice repulsed with great loss and slaughter, and were even ready to draw off in despair when another party, on the other side of the town, under the command of colonel Page, seconded by a body of horse that came but that day from Newark, and, putting themselves on foot, advanced with their swords and pistols with the other, entered the town, and made way for their fellows to follow them: so that by break of day, the assault having continued all the night, May 31.
all the King's army entered the line. And then the governor, and all the officers and soldiers, to the number of twelve hundred, threw down their arms, and became prisoners of war; whilst the conquerors pursued their advantage with the usual license of rapine and plunder, and miserably sacked the whole town, without any distinction of persons or places, churches and hospitals as well as other houses [being] made a prey to the enraged and greedy soldier, to the exceeding regret of the King; who well knew that, how disaffected soever that town was generally, there were yet many who had faithful hearts to him, and who he heartily wished might be distinguished from the rest: but those seasons admit no difference of persons. And though the place was well gotten, because so little time had been spent in the getting it, yet it was not without very considerable loss on the King's side; there being near two hundred soldiers dead upon the places of assault, with many officers, colonel Saint George, and others of name; besides many more wounded and maimed. The King presently made the lord

1645 Loughborough, a younger son of the earl of Huntington, and one who had served him eminently from the beginning of the war, governor of Leicester; and sir Matthew Appleyuard, a soldier of known courage and experience, his lieutenant governor.

34. The taking of Leicester, the chief town of that province, even as soon as he came before it, and in that manner, purely by an act of great courage, gave the King's army great reputation, and made a wonderful impression of terror upon the hearts of those at Westminster; who now revolved the conditions which were offered at Uxbridge, and which they had refused. They began to curse their new model, and to reproach those who had persuaded them so ingratefully to throw off their old general; who was ready to foment all their discontents. It was not above twenty days that the King's army had been in the field, and in that short time it had reduced two strong garrisons of theirs without giving the soldiers any conditions, Hawkesly House in Worcestershire and the town of Leicester: whilst their new general Fayrefax had only faced Oxford at a distance, to try whether the ladies would prevail for the giving up of the town to pacify their fears, and had attempted to take
June 6[1]. a poor house that lay near, (Borstall House,) and had been beaten from thence with considerable loss, and had drawn off from both, very little to his honour. These discourses were so public in the city, and had so much credit in both Houses of Parliament, that they exceedingly desired peace, and exercised their thoughts only how they might revive the old treaty, or set a new one on foot; when the evil genius of the kingdom in a moment shifted the whole scene.

35. Leicester was a post where the King might, with all possible convenience and honour, have sat still till his army might have been recruited, as well as throughly refreshed. Colonel Gerard was upon his march towards him from Wales, with a body of three thousand horse and foot: and he had reason to expect that the lord Goring would be very shortly

[1] [Wood, *Hist. Oxon.* Fairfax summoned the governor, sir W. Campion, to surrender on June 3.]

with him with his horse; for he was not departed from the 1645
King above four or five days, with those orders which are mentioned before, and with which he was so well pleased, but that the King saw cause to repent his separation, and sent other orders to recall him as soon as was possible. But the King's fate, and the natural unsteadiness and irresolution of those about him, hurried him into counsels very disagreeable to the posture he was in. He knew not that Fayrefax was gone from Oxford, and the intelligence which some men pretended to have received from thence was that it was in distress. The duke of York remained there; the Council, many lords and ladies, who sent intelligence to their friends, and all the magazines, were there; and if all these should fall into the enemy's hands, Leicester would appear a very poor recompense. These particulars being unskilfully yet warmly pressed by those who could not be understood to mean amiss, the King resolved to march directly for Oxford; and in order thereunto, within five days after the taking of Leicester, he appointed the rendezvous for his army; where he might yet very reasonably have been discouraged from prosecuting that intention; for it then appeared evidently how very much it was weakened by and since that action; and, by the loss of those who were killed and wounded in the storm, by the absence of those who were left behind in the garrison, and by the running away of very many with their plunder (who would in few days have returned), the number of the King's foot which remained did not amount to above five hundred above three thousand; which was not a body sufficient to fight a battle for a crown. Then, all the northern horse, who had promised themselves, and were promised by the King, that they should go into their own country, were so transported with this new resolution, that they were with great difficulty restrained from disbanding; and, though they were at last prevailed with to march, were not enough recovered to be depended June 4.
upon in any sudden action.

36. Notwithstanding all this, the march was continued; and the next day, at Harborough, the intelligence came that Fayre- June 5.
fax was drawn off from Oxford, without having ever approached

1645 so near it as to discharge one piece of cannon upon it; that he had been beaten off from Bo[r]stall House with the loss of officers as well as soldiers; and that he was marched with his whole army to Buckingham. But this kindled a greater appetite to find him out than there was before. Indeed there was less reason to march northward, since they might well apprehend the Scots' army in their face and Fayrefax in their rear. But there was the same reason still for their retiring back to Leicester, or to Worcester, where they might expect, and could not fail of, an addition of forces to the army; and where the enemy, who must now be obliged to find them out, must come with many disadvantages. These considerations were all laid aside, and every body believed that Fayrefax's army was much dispirited by having failed in their two first enterprises, and that it was now led out of the way that it might recover courage before it should be brought to fight with so victorious troops as the King's were; and therefore that it was best to find them out whilst their fear was yet upon them. All men concluded that to be true which their own wishes suggested to
June 7. them. And so the army marched to Daintree in Northamptonshire: where, for want of knowing where the enemy was, or what he intended to do, the King remained in a quiet posture the space of five days.

June 13. 37. Upon the 13th of June the King received intelligence that Fayrefax was advanced to Northampton with a strong army, much superior to the numbers he had formerly been ad-
June 14. vertised of. Whereupon he retired the next day to Harborough, and meant to have gone back to Leicester, that he might draw more foot out of Newark, and stand upon his defence till the other forces, which he expected, could come up to him. But that very night an alarum was brought to Harborough that Fayrefax himself was quartered within six miles. A council was presently called, and the former resolution of retiring presently laid aside, and a new one as quickly taken to fight; to which there was always an immoderate appetite when the enemy was within any distance. They would not stay to expect his coming, but would go back to meet him. And so, in the morning early,

being Saturday the 14th of June, all the army was drawn up, 1645
upon a rising ground of very great advantage, about a mile June 14.
south from Harborough, (which was left at their back,) and
there put in order to give or receive the charge. The main
body of the foot was led by the lord Ashly, (whom the King 1644.
had lately made a baron,) consisting of about two thousand and Nov. 4.
five hundred foot; the right wing of horse, being about two
thousand, was led by prince Rupert; the left wing of horse,
consisting of all the northern horse, with those from Newark,
which did not amount to above sixteen hundred, was commanded
by sir Marmaduke Langdale. In the reserve were the King's life-
guard, commanded by the earl of Lindsey, and prince Rupert's
regiment of foot, both which did make very little above eight
hundred; with the King's horse-guards, commanded by the lord
Bernard Stuart, (newly made earl of Litchfield [1],) which made
that day about five hundred horse.

38. The army thus disposed, in good order, made a stand on that ground to expect the enemy. About eight of the clock in the morning it began to be doubted whether the intelligence they had received of the enemy was true. Upon which the scoutmaster was sent to make farther discovery, who, it seems, went not far enough, but returned and averred, that he had been three or four miles forward, and could neither discover nor hear any thing of them: and presently a report was raised in the army that the enemy was retired. Prince Rupert thereupon drew out a party of horse and musketeers, both to discover and engage them, the army remaining still in the same place and posture they had been in. And his highness had not marched above a mile, when he received certain intelligence of their advance, and in a short time after he saw the van of their army, but it seems not so distinctly but that he conceived they were retiring. Whereupon he advanced nearer with his horse, and sent back that the army should march up to him; and the messenger who brought the order said, that the prince desired

[1] [He was killed at Rowton Heath before the patent was passed. His nephew, Charles Stuart, afterwards sixth duke of Lennox and third of Richmond, was created earl of Lichfield, Dec. 10, 1645.]

1645 they should make haste. Hereupon the advantage ground was quitted, and the excellent order they were in, and an advance made towards the enemy as well as might be. By that time they had marched about a mile and an half, the horse of the enemy were discerned to stand upon a high ground about Naseby; and from thence seeing the manner of the King's march in a full *campania*, they had leisure and opportunity to place themselves with all the advantages they could desire. The prince his natural heat and impatience could never endure an enemy long in his view, nor believe that they had the courage to endure his charge. And so the army was engaged before the cannon was turned, or the ground made choice of upon which they were to fight: so that courage was only to be relied upon, where all conduct failed so much.

39. It was about ten of the clock when the battle began: and the first charge was given by prince Rupert, who, with his own and his brother prince Morrice his troop, performed it with his usual vigour, and was so well seconded that he bore down all before him, and was master of six pieces of the rebels' best cannon. The lord Astely, with his foot, though against the hill, advanced upon their foot, who discharged their cannon at them, but overshot them, and so did their musketeers too. For the foot on either side hardly saw each other until they were within carabine-shot, and so only gave one volley; the King's foot, according to their usual custom, falling in with their swords and the but-ends of their muskets, with which they did very notable execution, and put the enemy into great disorder and confusion. The right wing of horse and foot being thus fortunately engaged and advanced, the left wing, under sir Marmaduke Langdale, in five bodies, advanced with equal resolution; and was encountered by Cromwell, who commanded the right wing of the enemy's horse, with seven bodies greater and more numerous than either of the other, and had, besides the odds in number, the advantage of the ground; for the King's horse were obliged to march up the hill before they could charge them: yet they did their duty as well as the place and great inequality of numbers would enable them to do. But being

flanked on both sides by the enemy's horse, and pressed hard 1645
before they could get to the top of the hill, they gave back, and fled farther and faster than became them. Four of the enemy's bodies, close and in good order, followed them, that they might not rally again; which they never thought of doing; and the rest charged the King's foot, who had so much the advantage over theirs; whilst prince Rupert, with the right wing, pursued those horse which he had broken and defeated.

40. The King's reserve of horse, which was his own guards, with himself in the head of them, were even ready to charge those horse who followed those of the left wing, when, on a sudden, such a panic fear seized upon them that they all ran near a quarter of a mile without stopping; which happened upon an extraordinary accident, which hath seldom fallen out, and might well disturb and disorder very resolute troops, as these were the best horse in the army. The King, as was said before, was even upon the point of charging the enemy, in the head of his guards, when the earl of Cornewarth, who rode next to him, (a man never suspected for infidelity, nor one from whom the King would have received counsel in such a case,) on a sudden laid his hand on the bridle of the King's horse, and swearing two or three full-mouthed Scots' oaths, (for of that nation he was,) said, 'Will you go upon your death in an instant?' and, before his majesty understood what he would have, turned his horse round; upon which a word ran through the troops that they should march to the right hand; which was both from charging the enemy, or assisting their own men. And upon this they all turned their horse[s] and rode upon the spur, as if they were every man to shift for himself.

41. It is very true that, upon the more soldierly word *Stand*, which was sent to run after them, many of them returned to the King; though the former unlucky word carried more from him. And by this time prince Rupert was returned with a good body of those horse which had attended him in his prosperous charge on the right wing; but they having, as they thought, acted their parts, they could never be brought to rally themselves again in order, or to charge the enemy. And that differ-

1645 ence was observed shortly from the beginning of the war, in the discipline of the King's troops and of those which marched under the command of Cromwell, (for it was only under him, and had never been notorious under Essex or Waller,) that though the King's troops prevailed in the charge, and routed those they charged, they never rallied themselves again in order, nor could be brought to make a second charge again the same day: which was the reason that they had not an entire victory at Edgehill: whereas Cromwell's troops, if they prevailed, or though they were beaten and routed, presently rallied again, and stood in good order till they received new orders. All that the King and prince could do could not rally their broken troops, which stood in sufficient numbers upon the field, though they often endeavoured it with the manifest hazard of their own persons. So that in the end the King was compelled to quit the field, and to leave Fayrefax master of all his foot, cannon, and baggage; amongst which was his own cabinet, where his most secret papers were, and letters between the Queen and him; of which they shortly after made that barbarous use as was agreeable to their natures, and published them in print, that is, so much of them as they thought would asperse either of their majesties and improve the prejudice they had raised against them, and concealed other parts which would have vindicated them from many particulars with which they had aspersed them.

42. It will not be seasonable in this place to mention the names of those noble persons who were lost in this battle, when the King and the kingdom were lost in it; though there were above one hundred and fifty officers, and gentlemen of prime quality, whose memories ought to be preserved, who were dead upon the spot. The enemy left no manner of barbarous cruelty unexercised that day, and in the pursuit killed above one hundred women, whereof some were officers' wives of quality. The King and prince Rupert, with the broken troops, marched
June 15. by Leicester that night to Ashby de la Zouch; and the next
June 16. day to Litchfield; and continued two days' march more, till he
June 17. came to Bewdley in Worcestershire, where he rested one day;
June 18. and then went to Hereford, with some disjointed imagination

that he might, with those forces under Gerard, (who was general 1645
of South Wales,) who was indeed upon his march with a body of two thousand horse and foot, be able to have raised a new army. At Hereford prince Rupert, before any formed counsel was agreed upon what the King should do next, left the King, and made haste to Bristol, that he might put that place into a condition to resist a powerful and victorious enemy, which he had reason to believe would in a short time appear before it. And nothing can be here more wondered at, than that the King should amuse himself about forming a new army in counties which had been vexed and worn out with the oppressions of his own troops and the license of those governors whom he had put over them, and not have immediately repaired into the west, where he had an army already formed, and a people generally well devoted to his service, and whither general Gerard, and all his broken troops, might have transported themselves before Fayrefax could have given them any interruption, who had somewhat to do before he could bend his course that way: of which unhappy omission we shall have too much occasion to take more notice of, after we have again visited the west.

43. The sickness which infested Bristol, and which was thought to be the plague, had made it necessary for the Prince to remove from thence: and no place was thought so convenient for his residence as Bar[n]stable, a pleasant town in the north part of Devonshire, well fortified, and a good garrison in it, under the command of sir Allen Apsly. And as his highness was upon his way thither, he received the orders which the lord Goring, who was now returned, had procured from the King, and which he carefully transmitted to his highness as soon as he arrived. And at the same time the lord Culpeper received another letter from the lord Digby, dated four days after the May 14.
former orders, by which he signified the King's express pleasure that the lord Goring should command those forces in chief; that sir Richard Greenevill should be major general of the whole army; that sir John Barkly, as colonel general of Devon and Cornwall, should intend the work before Plimmoth; and that prince Rupert would send his ratification of all these; that the

1645 lord Hopton should attend his charge at the army as general of the artillery, (to which purpose his majesty with his own hand writ to the lord Hopton); that the prince should not be in the army, but keep his residence in a safe garrison, and there, by the advice of his council, to manage and improve the business of the west, and to provide reserves, and reinforce men for the army; with an intimation that Mrs. Smith's house, near Bristol, would be a convenient place for his residence.

44. The Prince and council were much amazed at these counsels and resolutions, so different from those which had been made; and therefore they thought it fit to conceal them till they might present faithfully to his majesty the state and condition of those parts, and their advice thereupon; well knowing that if it were believed in the county that the Prince's authority was in the least manner superseded or diminished, besides other inconveniences, the hopeful levies upon the agreement at Bridgewater would be in a moment determined; the gentlemen who were to raise regiments professing that they would receive no commissions but from his highness. But whatever secrecy they used to conceal the matter of those letters, and hastened away a despatch to the King concerning it, the lord Goring took as much care to publish it, and from that time expressed all possible contempt, at least, of the council attending the Prince. However, within three days there was another change; for the lord Digby, (sending at the same time express orders from the King to the lord Goring to that purpose,) by
May 19. his letter to the lords of the council of the 19th of May, within five days after the former, signified his majesty's pleasure that the lord Goring should march forthwith towards Northamptonshire with all the forces could be spared, and that the Prince himself should stay at Dunstar Castle, (it being, I presume, not known at Court that the plague, which had driven him from Bristol, was as hot in Dunstar town, just under the walls of the castle,) and encourage the new levies. And then again, a letter to the lord Hopton from the King ordered him to command the forces under the Prince. The Prince was then, as was said before, in his way to Bar[n]stable; having left five hundred of his

guards to keep the fort in Bristol, the garrison being then very thin there, by reason of so many drawn from thence for the service at Taunton. 1645

45. General Goring, upon his return from the King, found Taunton relieved by a strong party of two thousand horse and three thousand foot, which unhappily arrived in the very article of reducing the town, and after their line was entered, and a third part of the town was burned. But this supply raised the siege, the besiegers drawing off without any loss; and the party that relieved them, having done their work, and left some of their foot in the town, made what haste they could to make their retreat eastward; when Goring fell so opportunely upon their quarters that he did them great mischieve, and believed that in that disorder he had so shut them up between narrow passes that they could neither retire to Taunton nor march eastward: and doubtless he had them then at a great advantage, by the opinion of all men that knew the country. But by the extreme ill disposing his parties, and for want of particular orders, (of which many men spoke with great license,) his two parties sent out several ways to fall upon the enemy about Petherton-bridge, the one commanded by colonel Thorn[h]ill, the other by sir William Courtney, (both diligent and sober officers,) fell [1] foul on each other, to the loss of many of their men; both the chief officers being dangerously hurt, and one of them taken, before they knew their error; through which the enemy with no more loss got into and about Taunton: notwithstanding which untoward accident, general Goring was, or seemed, very confident that he should speedily so distress them that the place would be sooner reduced by the relief that had been put into it, and that in few days they would be at his mercy. May 11.

46. This was before the latter end of May; when, upon the confidence of speedily despatching that work, all possible and effectual care was taken to supply him with provisions, and to send all the new levied men and his highness' own guards thither. Insomuch as he had within few days a body of full 5000 foot and 4000 horse, which he quartered at the most

[1] ['they fell,' MS.]

1645 convenient places, rather for ease than duty; having published
March 23. orders, under pretence of preserving the country from plunder, and with promises of most exemplary discipline, that sixpence a day should be collected for the payment of each trooper, to which he got the commissioners' consent; by virtue whereof he raised vast sums of money, without the least abatement of the former disorders; yet he proceeded with such popular circumstances, sending most specious warrants out, and declarations for reformation, sometimes desiring that solemn prayers might be said in all churches for him, and to desire God to bless some attempt he had then in hand; always using extreme courtship to the commissioners, (whom he barefaced informed that he was to have, or rather that he had, the absolute command of the west under the Prince, without reference to his council,) that with his promises, proclamations, and courtship, together with laughing at those persons they were angry at, he had wrought himself into very popular consideration; till they found that he promised, and published orders, to no other purpose than to deceive them, and that whilst he seemed with them to laugh at other men he made them properties only to his own ends.

47. In this conjuncture the King's letter came to the lord Goring to march; to which he returned an answer by an express[1] before he desired the Prince's directions, though he
May 24. was diligent enough to procure his highness' opinion for the respite of his march. And the truth is, the assurance that he gave of his reducing those forces within very few days; the leaving all the west to the mercy of the rebels, if he went before they were reduced; the danger of their marching in his rear, and carrying as great an addition of strength to the enemy as general Goring could carry to the King, except he carried with him the forces of the several garrisons which were then joined to him; made it very counsellable to suspend a present obedience to those orders, till his majesty might receive the full and true state of his affairs in those parts, to which purpose an express was sent likewise by his highness to the King. In the mean time general Goring was so far from making any advance

[1] [The name 'sir Robert Welsh' is struck out.]

upon Taunton, that he grew much more negligent in it than he had been; suffered provisions in great quantities to be carried into the town through the midst of his men; neglected and discouraged his own foot so much that they ran away faster than they could be sent up to him; and gave himself wholly to license, insomuch that he many times was not seen abroad in three or four days together. Then came the news of the fatal blow at Naseby, which freed him from any fear of being drawn out of the west; yet he used no expedition to attempt any thing upon the enemy, who were exceedingly disheartened, but suffered his guards to be more negligently kept, insomuch that his quarters were often beaten up, even at daytime; whilst some principal officers of his army, as lieutenant general Porter and others, with his license, had several parleys [1] with the officers of the rebels, to the very great scandal of the rest, who knew not what interpretation to make of it, at a time that he used to mention the person of the King with great contempt, and avowed in all places a virulent dislike of the Prince's council. And after about six weeks lying about Taunton, the forces whereof he promised to confound (I mean those that marched to the relief) within few days, he was forced to retire, and suffer them to join with sir Thomas Fayrefax, who in the beginning of July marched towards those parts. 1645

48. After the Prince came to Barstable, though he very seldom received any account from the lord Goring of what happened, he was informed by several persons of credit that general Goring was much discontented, and expressed a great sense of disrespect and unkindnesses that he had received, and therefore it was wished by them that some means might be found out to settle a good understanding with him, whereby he might be encouraged to an alacrity in so important a season. And he having appointed to be at Tiverton on such a day, the Prince sent thither sir John Barkly, sir Hugh Pollard, and colonel Ashburnham, to confer with him, and to know what he desired; the Prince having never denied to assist him in any one particular he had ever proposed, or to grant him any thing

[1] ['parlees,' MS.]

1645 he had expressed a desire of. Upon their meeting there, he carried himself very high; talked only of general neglects put upon him by the Prince's council; that he had been promised by the King to have the command of the west, but that they had hindered it; which affront he would have repaired, before he would do any service upon the enemy; with many bitter invectives against particular persons, whereof[1] prince Rupert had told him (as he said) some[2] thought him not a man fit to be trusted; some having indeed spoken freely[3] to his highness, upon his very frankly discoursing[4] of him to that purpose. In the end, they pressing him as friends to deal particularly with them what would satisfy him, he told them, if he might be presently made lieutenant general to the Prince, and admitted of his council, and be promised to be sworn of the Privy Council as soon as might be, and to be gentleman of the Prince's bedchamber, he would then proceed roundly and cheerfully in the business; otherwise, the Prince's council should do the work themselves for him. All this being so extravagant, it cannot be thought any answer could be given to it, especially it being said to them as friends, not expressly sent to the Prince.

49. When the Prince first apprehended the advance of sir Thomas Fayrefax to the west, he very earnestly recommended to the lord Goring the state of the garrisons about Bridgewater, especially the garrison of Lamport, which was of so great importance, that, being well supplied, [it] had secured Bridgewater and all that part of the country. This garrison had been settled by the lord Hopton upon his first coming down to Taunton, after Vandruske had raised the block that colonel Windham had laid to it; and sir Francis Mackworth (who, having been formerly major general to the marquis of Newcastle of all his forces, was now, that army being dissolved, returning to his command in the Low Countries by his majesty's

[1] ['I was the principal'; struck out.]
[2] ['some' substituted for 'that I.']
[3] ['some—freely,' altered from, 'I having indeed spoken freely, though not so much.']
[4] ['to me' struck out.]

leave) was engaged by him to take the command of it till, upon the Prince's coming into those parts, a worthier command could be provided for him; and he, before the lord Goring's coming to Taunton, had fortified it to a good degree. This garrison had been much maligned, from the first establishment, by colonel Windham, who desired not to have another governor so near him, who was to receive some of the fruit that he had before looked on as his own, though never assigned to him: and then, upon some differences between sir J. Stowell and sir F. Mackworth, was more inveighed against: insomuch as at the first coming down of the Prince to Bristol, most of the time was spent in complaints from sir J. Stowell of this garrison, and of the forcing the county to work and contribute to those fortifications. After the lord Goring's coming to Taunton, he had, as a compliment to Bridgewater, and to all the gentlemen who were grown angry with my lord Hopton, (upon their own fancies,) besides the former unkindnesses he had to sir F. Mackworth upon some disputes they had had in the north, (where they were both general officers,) very much neglected and oppressed that garrison; not only by countenancing all complaints against it, but by taking away all the contributions assigned for the support of it, for the supplying his own army; and expressly inhibiting him by force to levy those rates which the Prince himself had assigned to him. Insomuch as when the Club-men of the county assembled together in great numbers, and, having taken some officers and soldiers of that garrison prisoners, for requiring their just contributions in money or provisions, came up to the walls of Lamport, and discharged their muskets upon the works, and sir Francis Mackworth thereupon with his horse charged them, and, killing one or two of them, forced the rest to run away, the lord Goring sent him a very strict reprehension for so doing, and positively commanded him to do so no more, nor in any case to disturb or injure those people; and so brought that garrison so low, that when it might have preserved that army it had not two days' provisions in it; sir Francis Mackworth being (as well by his

1645 [c. June 20[1].]

[1] [*Cal. Clar. S. P.* I. 268: letter of the Prince on June 22.]

1645 own choice, when he saw the carriage towards him, and believing that some prejudice to his person brought a disadvantage to the place, as by prince Rupert's advice, who promised when he left the Prince at Barstable, and visited Goring and Bridgewater, to settle that garrison of Lamport, and make colonel Windham governor of it,) called to wait on the Prince's own person.

50. Here I cannot but say somewhat of the Club-men, who began then to rise in great numbers in several parts of the country, about the time that the Prince went from Bath to Bridgewater in his journey to Barstable; and that night his highness lay at Wells, which was the 2nd of June, a petition
June 2. was delivered unto him, which had been agreed upon that day at Marshal's Elm, where there had then assembled 5000 or 6000 men, most in arms; and the petitioners were appointed to attend the next day at Bridgewater for an answer. It was evident, though the avowed ground for their rising was the intolerable oppression, rapine, and violence exercised by the lord Goring's horse, that, in truth, they received encouragement from many gentlemen of the country; some of them thinking it would be a good expedient to necessitate a reformation of the army; others believing it would be a profitable rising for the King, and would grow into the matter of the first association, *One and All.* And therefore some principal agents of sir John Stowell's were very active in those meetings, and he himself was very solicitous that a very gracious answer might be returned to their petition, which was followed by some farmerly men, and others of the Clergy, both which had good reputations of affection and integrity to the King's service. The Prince expressed a great sense of the oppressions they suffered by the disorder of the army, which he promised to do his best to reform; to which end he writ many earnest letters to the lord Goring. But he told them, that this unwarrantable course of assembling together, and being their own judges, would prove very pernicious: for though many of them might mean well, yet some active ministers would mingle with them on the behalf of the rebels, and, having once brought them to a kind of neutrality, and unconcernedness for the King, would, in a

moment, be able, against all their good wishes, to apply them against him; and therefore straitly inhibited them to meet any more in that manner, except they first listed themselves in regiments, and chose gentlemen of the country to command them; to whom his highness offered to grant commissions to that purpose. 1645

51. This answer seemed to satisfy those who attended on the behalf of the petitioners, until they were persuaded by some gentlemen not to submit to it; and so they continued their meetings, many inferior officers of the army quitting their charges, and living amongst them, and improving their discontents. When the Prince went to Barstable, he gave general Goring advertisements of the great danger that might arise out of the license that people took to themselves; and therefore advised him, on the one hand, to suppress and reform the crying disorders of the army by good discipline, and severity upon enormous transgressors; so, on the other, seasonably to discountenance and punish those assemblies of club-men, which would otherwise, in time, prove as dangerous to him as any other strength of the rebels. But whether it were to shew his greatness, and so, popularly to comply with what the Prince had discountenanced, or whether in truth he believed he should be able to make use of them, and persuade them to become a part of his army, he did use all possible compliance with them, and would not suffer any force to be used against them. So that they grew to be so powerful, that, as they kept provisions from the army and the garrisons, so, when he moved from Taunton upon the coming down of sir Thomas Fayrefax, they killed most of his soldiers, and did him more mischieve than all the power of [the] rebels.

52. When the Prince came to Barstable, he received the fatal news of the battle of Naseby, by the noise and triumphs which the rebels made in those parts for their victory, without any particular information or account from Oxford or any credible persons; which left some hope that it might not be true, at least not to that degree that disaffected people reported it to be. However, at the worst, it concerned him the more to be

1645 solicitous to put the west into such a posture that it might be able to repair any loss the King had received; which it might easily have done if the jealousies and animosities between particular persons could be reconciled, and a union made amongst all men who pretended [to wish,] and really did wish, prosperity to the King's affairs, which yet were disturbed, and even rendered desperate, by the intolerable pride and incorrigible faction of and between such persons. Notwithstanding the orders which had been made by the commissioners of Devonshire for the distribution of the contribution of that county, which have been mentioned before, and in which such a proportion was assigned for the maintenance of the forces before Plimmoth as in sir Richard Greenevill's own judgment was sufficient for them, he had still continued to levy the whole contribution which he had done formerly, for six thousand foot and twelve hundred horse; and said, he could not submit to the other division and retrenchment, for that there was nothing assigned or left for the payment of his men before Taunton. He was told by the commissioners that they were now a part of the army, and lived as their fellows did; that they had received no money from him since their going thither, but had had free quarter as the rest of the army; and that it would prove of ill consequence, and beget a mutiny, if they should receive a weekly pay when none of the rest did, nor any army the king had in England: that he could not but confess, by the state of the whole, that the dispensation was very reasonable; and that it could not be expected that the county would be contented to pay their contributions for the payment of foreign forces, when their own garrisons that were kept for their defence should be compelled for want of pay to disorders or to disband; but that if he thought any thing in those establishments unnecessary, or that he thought provision could be otherwise made for them, they would be contented that the overplus should be disposed as he desired. He answered none of the reasons, but positively said he would spare none of the contributions formerly assigned to him; though the commissioners had the same authority now to take it away as they had then to dis-

pose it to him, and though it appeared to be assigned for the maintenance of so great a force as was before spoken of, and upon his undertaking, under his hand, to take the town before Christmas Day. 1645

53. When this account was presented to the Prince, he found it necessary, and resolved, to confirm what was proposed by the commissioners, without which those garrisons could not be supported; yet deferred the settling thereof till he came to Barstable, being resolved speedily to go thither; and before his coming thither had sent to the commissioners both of Devon and Cornwall to attend him; which they did within a day or two after he came thither, together with sir John Barkely and sir Richard Greenevill [1].

[1] When we were at Barstable, one day, the bishop of Salisbury came to us at council, and informed us that there was a young fellow who assumed too much license about the Prince, one Wheeler, who, though he had no relation of service to King or Prince, intruded himself with great boldness about his highness; that he was very deboshed, and of so filthy a behaviour that it was not to be spoke of; and that sir Hugh Windham had complained of some beastliness of his that was not to be named. Whereupon, after a long debate in the presence of his highness, it was unanimously resolved that he should be forbid to come any more to Court, or to reside in any place where the Prince should be; for which purpose he was sent for, and commanded accordingly to depart the town that time. The same night, about ten of the clock, sir Hugh Windham came to me to the governor's, and told me the Prince had sent him to me, to give directions that Wheeler should be committed. I told him I thought he was gone out of the town; he replied, No, he saw him but now, and that, as he came up the street, Wheeler came to him, and threatened him to be revenged on him and told him that he had spoken ill of the King, and that he had said he would join with the Prince against the King, and that he would cut the King's throat: which he said was an imputation of such a nature, that he desired he might be examined. I told him, I had never heard any such thing: but I would speak with the governor to send a guard to keep him that night, and that I would wait upon the Prince the next morning for his commands. The next morning I went to Court, the Prince being then riding: he called to me, and commanded that the business of Wheeler should be throughly examined. Thereupon, as soon as the council met I acquainted their lordships with what had passed; who gave direction for Wheeler to be sent for, and we sent for the bishop of Salisbury to be present at the examination. When the young man came, we asked him what he had to accuse sir Hugh Windham of; and wished him to consider well what he spake, because his words could have little credit, since it was evident he spake out of revenge. He said, that about a month before,

1645 54. The commissioners for Devon very earnestly pressed the settling the contributions in the manner before proposed, and the regulating the exorbitant power of sir Richard Greenevill, who raised what money he pleased, and committed what persons he pleased; and the commissioners from Cornwall presented a very sharp complaint against him, in the name of the whole county, for several exorbitances and strange acts of tyranny exercised upon them: that he had committed very many honest substantial men, and all the constables of the east part of the county, to Lydford prison in Devonshire, for no offence, but to compel them to ransom themselves for money; and that his troopers had committed such outrages in the county that they had been compelled in open sessions to declare against him, and to authorize the county, in case that he should send his troops in such manner, to rise and beat them out;

(and named the day), he and sir Hugh Windham being together at such a place, sir Hugh Windham complained of the King, and said he served the Prince, and that if the Prince would take up arms to-morrow against the King he would follow him. We asked him who heard it. He said, Mr. Rogers and Mr. Marsh; who being both sent for, and examined severally, seemed prepared beforehand on the behalf of Windham; Marsh saying that he remembered nothing, nor took notice of what was said; the other confessing that sir Hugh Windham asked him, if the Prince should take arms against the King what part he would take, but remembered no such expressions of Windham's as Wheeler accused him of. Upon the whole matter, my lords unanimously (except my lord Barkshire) advised the Prince, in a business of so tender a nature, that he could not be too strict, and that, being sir Hugh Windham stood accused of so ill a carriage, and (though denied by him) that it appeared he had used very uncomely language and question by the confession of Rogers, the[1] former sentence upon Wheeler should be executed; and that sir Hugh Windham should likewise forbear coming near the Prince till the King should be acquainted with the whole business; and that Rogers and Marsh should for the present not come near the Prince. This was thought a severe sentence against Windham, and drew very much malice from that family towards me; though truly, out of the knowledge that his mother had before used me ill, I proceeded in that business (lest I might be suspected of some passion) with the same candour as I would have done towards a brother.

[This passage is found in the MS. of the *Hist.* without any mark to point out its right place in this book, and has been inserted here in former editions from its relating to the time of the Prince's stay at Barnstaple. It is omitted in the copy from which the first edition was printed.]

[1] ['was,' MS.]

which declaration was produced, signed by all the commis- 1645
sioners, who were mostly eminently and zealously affected to his majesty, and was indeed no other than a denouncing war against Greenevill; and was excused by them as an act of necessity to compose the people, who would otherwise in the instant have risen, and cut the throats of all his men. So that whosoever would have made a judgment, upon what he heard from the commissioners of Devon and Cornwall at that time, must have concluded that sir Richard Greenevill was the most justly odious to both counties that can be imagined. And no doubt the man had behaved himself with great pride and tyranny over them, though the discipline he exercised over his men at Plimmoth, in keeping them from committing any disorder, or offering the least prejudice to any man, (which, considering the vast assignment of money he had, and the small numbers of men, was no hard matter to do,) had raised him much credit amongst the country people, who had lived long under the license of prince Morrice; and the fame of it had extended his reputation to a greater distance.

55. [1] There hath been too much said already to discover the nature and the temper of the man, if the current of this discourse did not make it absolutely necessary to mention many particulars with which the Prince was troubled almost in all

[1] [The beginning of this section originally stood as follows in the MS. :—
'There need but two instances be given, (though it is not possible to avoid many more in the continuance of this discourse,) to discover the nature and the temper of the man: the first, that, coming (at his first coming into the country, and having then no command) to visit general Digby, who then commanded before Plimmoth, after dinner, in requital of his civility, and as a respect to him, and it being possible that some party from Plimmoth might be in his way, Mr. Digby (who told me this story) sent a party of horse to attend him for some miles. As they passed, sir Richard espied two fellows in a common, with burdens of wood upon their backs, and sent a trooper to fetch them to him. When they came, he found them, upon examination and threats, to be soldiers of the garrison of Plimmoth, who had stolen out to beg victuals, and had taken those burdens to disguise them in their return. Whereupon he caused them to draw lots which of them should hang the other, and in his own presence forced him to whose turn it came, to hang his fellow, himself then having no power or command in those parts. The other instance was, that shortly after he was deputed to that charge before Plimmoth,' &c., as above.]

1645 places, and which exceedingly disordered the whole business of Devon and Cornwall, and indeed thereby of the whole west. There was a particular that made a great noise in the county. Shortly after he was deputed to that charge before Plimmoth, upon the hurt of Mr. Digby, one Brabant, an attorney at law, who had heretofore solicited the great suit against sir Richard in the Star-Chamber on the behalf of his wife and the earl of Suffolk, living in those parts, and having always behaved himself very honestly towards the King's service, knowing, it seems, the nature of the gentleman, resolved not to venture himself within the precincts where he commanded, and therefore intended to go to some more secure quarter; but was taken in his journey, having a montero on his head, (sir Richard Greenevill having laid wait to apprehend him, and he accordingly concealing himself,) and being brought before sir Richard, was immediately, as a spy, (because he said he was disguised,) by his own direction, without any council of war, hanged: which seemed so strange and incredible, that one of the council [1] asked him whether it was true. And he answered very unconcernedly, 'Yes, he had hanged him, for he was a traitor, and against the King; and that he had taken a brother of his, whom he might have hanged too, but he had suffered him to be exchanged.' He said, 'He knew the country talked that he hanged him for revenge, because he had solicited a cause against him; but that was not the cause; though, having played the knave with him,' he said smiling, 'he was well content to find a just occasion to punish him.'

56. The Prince was very unwilling to enter so far and so particularly upon the passionate complaint of either county, as thereby to be compelled to censure or to discountenance sir Richard Greenevill, who, he thought, might be applied very usefully to the public service. And therefore he resolved, according to the former design, to commit the business of Plimmoth to sir John Barkly; who might, without any reproach to the other, discharge such from imprisonment as had lain long enough there, though faulty, and who made no other

[1] ['that—council' substituted for 'when I first heard it, that I.']

pretence to the contributions than according to the assignments made by the commissioners; and to dispose sir Richard Greenevill to the field, according to his own proposition; for which there was now the more seasonable opportunity, the lord Goring having then written to the Prince to desire him, that, in regard very many of sir Richard Greenevill's soldiers before Taunton were run away, insomuch that of the 2200 brought thither by him there were not 600 left, and that there could be no such expedient to bring them back or to encourage the new levies as by his presence in that army, he[1] would send sir R. Greenevill thither, where he should command as field marshal: to which purpose he had likewise written to sir R. Greenevill, persuading him that he should fix a quarter towards Lyme, and have the whole managing of that province: and so a very good correspondence was begun between them. And thereupon his commission of field marshal of the associated army was delivered to him, with direction, in the mean time, to abide with the lord Goring, who deputed him to command in the same place. It is true that he then desired to continue the command before Plimmoth *in commendam*, and to execute the same by his major general; but he was told, that it was otherwise settled by his own proposition and advice, and therefore that it could not be altered, and indeed would have prevented the satisfaction which was to be given to the two counties. Then he insisted very much upon some assignment of contribution for the army; for he said he neither would nor could command men who were not paid. But after some sharp invectives against the excess and laziness of governors, and the needless contributions assigned to garrisons, finding that the subsistence for the army must be provided out of Somerset and Dorset, he took his leave of the Prince, and with his commission of field marshal went to the lord Goring before Taunton; sir J. Barkly being at the same time despatched to Plimmoth. 1645

57. About the beginning of July sir Thomas Fayrefax entered into Somersetshire; so that general Goring found it convenient to draw off from Taunton, and seemed to advance towards him as if he intended to fight, fixing his quarters

[1] ['that he,' MS.]

1645 between the rivers about Lamport, very advantageously for defence, having a body of horse and foot very little inferior to the enemy, although by great negligence he had suffered his foot to moulder away before Taunton for want of provisions and countenance, when the horse enjoyed plenty, even to excess and riot. He had been there very few days, when the enemy,
July 9. at noonday, fell into his quarters, upon a party of horse of above 1000, commanded by lieutenant general Porter, who were so surprised that, though they were in a bottom, and could not but discern the enemy coming down the hill half a mile at the least, yet the enemy was upon them before the men could get upon their horses, they being then feeding in a meadow; so that this body was entirely routed, and very
July 10. many taken; and the next day, notwithstanding all the advantages of passes and places of advantage, another party of horse and dragoons fell upon the whole army, routed it, took two pieces of cannon, and pursued our men through Lamport, (a place which, if it had not been with great industry dis-
§ 49. countenanced and oppressed, as is said before, might well have secured ours, and resisted their army,) and drove them to the walls of Bridgewater, whither the lord Goring in great disorder retired; and spending that night there, and leaving their cannon, ammunition, carriages, and such soldiers as were desired, in equal disorder, the next day retired into Devonshire; the club-men and country people infesting their march, and knocking all stragglers or wearied soldiers on the head. Upon that rout, which was no less than a defeat of the whole army, the lord Goring retired to Barstable, (the Prince being gone some days before to Lanson in Cornwall,) from whence he writ to the lord Digby, that there was so great a terror and distraction amongst his men that he was confident at that present they could not be brought to fight against half their number. In that letter he writ that he had then (being within three days after their rout, when very many stragglers were not come up,) between three and four thousand foot, prince Rupert's regiment being left in Bridgewater, consisting of above 500 men, and 200 in Burrow, and

five and twenty hundred horse, besides sir Lewis Dyves' regi- 1645
ment, and all the western horse; so that by this account, considering that there were not less than one thousand men killed and taken prisoners in those two unlucky days, and that very many were run to Bristol, and others not then come to him, it appears that when he rose from Taunton he had a strength little inferior to the enemy.

58. Sir Thomas Fayrefax no more considered this running army, but left them to refresh and recover themselves without the least pursuit, whilst himself intended the recovery of Bridgewater; which was exceedingly wondered at, though it was quickly discerned he had good reason to stop there. In the mean time general Goring spends his time at Barstable and those parts adjacent; his army quartering at Torrington, and over the whole north of Devon, and his horse committing such intolerable insolences and disorders that alienated the hearts of those who were best affected to the King's service. Instead of endeavouring to recruit his army, or to put himself in a readiness and posture to receive the enemy, he suffered all who had a mind to depart; insomuch as he writ to the lord Culpeper on the 27th of July that he had not above 1300 foot left. When he was at Barstable he gave himself his usual license of drinking, and then inveighing against the Prince's council, and said he would justify that they had been the cause of the loss of the west; inveighing likewise in an unpardonable dialect against the person of the King, and discoursing much of the revenge he would take upon those who had affronted him. And in this manner he entertained himself to the end of July, writing letters of discontent to the Prince and the lords; one day complaining for want of money, and desiring the Prince to supply that want, when he well knew he wanted supply for his own table, and never received penny of the public collections or contributions; another day desiring that all straggling soldiers might be sent out of Cornwall, and drawn from the garrisons, that he might advance upon the enemy; and the next day proposing that all the foot might be put into garrisons, for that they would not be fit for the

1645 field: so that before an answer could be sent to his last letter another commonly arrived of a different temper.

59. Sir Richard Greenevill grew again no less troublesome and inconvenient than the lord Goring. He had left the Prince at Barstable, well pleased with his commission of field marshal, and more that he should command alone the blocking up of Lyme, which he resolved should bring him plenty of money; and in order to that, it was agreed that, on such a day appointed, so many men from the garrisons of Dartmoth, Exciter, and Barstable, should be drawn to Tiverton; where they should receive orders from sir Richard Greenevill, and join with such as he should bring from the lord Goring for making a quarter towards Lyme; and orders issued from his highness accordingly[1]. Those from Exciter, according to order, appeared at the time; and those from Barstable and Dartmoth[2] marched a day's journey, and more, towards Tiverton; but then, hearing that the lord Goring was risen from Taunton[3], made a halt, and sent back to the Prince for orders; who conceived that upon the rising of the lord Goring the design of fixing a quarter upon Lyme would be disappointed, and that it would be necessary to strengthen Barstable where his own person was, [and] recalled those men back thither; having despatched letters to sir Richard Greenevill, to acquaint him with the accidents that had diverted those from Dartmoth and Barstable, but letting him know that if the design held, those of Barstable should meet where and when he would appoint.

60. Sir Richard Greenevill took an occasion from the soldiers failing to meet at the day appointed at Tiverton, (though if they had met there could have been no progress in the former design,) to exclaim against the Prince's council; and the next

[1] The following lines are here struck out in the MS.:—'The governor of Dartmoth being to send 200 foot, according to his order, sent an officer with so many a day's march, and sent an express declaring that if those men should be drawn from him his garrison would be in great danger, and his works would stand still; whereupon, by the advice of a council of war, they were remitted, and marched not to Tiverton.']

[2] ['and Dartmoth' interlined.]

[3] [The following line is here struck out:—'which was true, though he returned thither again the next day.']

day, in a cover directed to Mr. Fanshaw, who was secretary to the council, without any letter, returned the commission of field marshal formerly given to him by the Prince; and within two or three days after, on the 5th of July, he sent a very insolent letter to the lords of the council, complaining of many undeserved abuses offered to him, implying that the same were fastened on him by them on the behalf of sir J. Barkly; told them, that when they moved him to give over the command of Plimmoth to sir John Barkly, they had promised him the principal command of the army under the Prince: whereas the truth is before set down, that the proposition was made by himself, both of quitting that charge, and of sir John Barkly's taking it, as the only fit person. He said, he had hitherto served the King upon his own charge, and upon his own estate, without any allowance; and that when he went from Barstable he was promised a protection for his house and his estate, but when, after he was gone, his servant brought a protection ready drawn, all the clauses that comprehended any thing of favour were left out, and such a protection sent to him as he cared not for. He concluded, that he would serve as a volunteer, till he might have opportunity to acquaint his majesty with his sufferings. And here it will be necessary, upon the mention of this protection, (which he took so ill to be denied,) and the mention of serving the King without allowance, upon his own estate, which he very often and very insolently objected, both in his letters and in his discourse to the Prince himself, to say somewhat of his estate, and what small allowance he had from the King for his service. 1645 July 3[1].

61. When he came first into that country he had no command at all, armed only with a commission to raise a regiment of horse and a regiment of foot; of which he never raised horse or man till long after, that he came to the command of Plimmoth. Estate he had none, either there, or, that I have heard, any where else. It is true his wife had an estate of about £500 *per annum* about Tavistock and other parts of Devon; but it is as true that it was conveyed before marriage in such manner, to friends in 1644 May 20.

[1] [The letter, which is amongst the Clarendon MSS., is dated at Ottery St. Mary, July 3; it was received on July 5.]

1645 trust, that upon long suits in chancery and in other courts, in the time of peace, there were several judgments and decrees in chancery against him; so that he had never, (since the difference with his wife, which was many years before,) received the least benefit or advantage from it. The first thing the King granted to him was the sequestration of all his wife's estate to his own use, (she living then in the rebels' quarters,) upon which title he settled himself in her house near Tavistock, and by virtue of that grant took all the stock upon the ground, and compelled the tenants to pay to him all the arrears of rent, or as much as he said was in arrear, which amounted to a very considerable value. When colonel Digby received his unfortunate hurt, which rendered him for that time uncapable to exercise that command, sir John Barkly very earnestly, and he only, moved prince Morrice to confer that charge upon sir Richard Greenevill, and, though it was within a county of which he had the principal charge as colonel general, procured a full commission for the other to command those forces in chief, and delivered or sent the same to him; having, from the time of his first coming down, used him with marvellous kindness.

62. He had not then commanded long, when the earl of Essex came into those parts; whereupon he was compelled to rise, and after joined with the King. When the earl of Essex's forces were dissolved, he was again designed to that service; and before the King left the country he granted him the sequestration of all the estate of the earl of Bedford in Devonshire, all the estate of sir Francis Drake (by which he had Buckland Monachorum, which was his quarter whilst he blocked Plimmoth, and Warrington by Lanson) in Devon, and the lord Roberts' estate in Cornwall; all which and his wife's estate he enjoyed by the sequestration granted from his majesty, and of which he made a greater revenue than ever the owners did in time of peace. For, besides that he suffered no part of those estates to pay contributions, (whereby the tenants very willingly paid their full rents,) he kept very much ground about all the houses in his own hands, which he stocked with such cattle as he took from delinquents; for

though he suffered not his soldiers to plunder, yet he was in truth himself the greatest plunderer of this war; for whenever any person had disobeyed or neglected any of his warrants, or when any man failed to appear at the *posse*, (which he summoned very frequently after he was shrief of Devon, and for no other end but the penalty of defaulters,) he sent presently a party of horse to apprehend their persons and to drive their grounds. If the persons were taken, they were very well content to remit their stock to redeem their persons; (for the better disposing them whereto, he would now and then hang a constable, or some other poor fellow, for those faults of which a hundred were as guilty:) and if, out of the terror of his justice, men hid themselves from being apprehended, they durst not send to require their stock, which was from thence quietly enjoyed: so that he had a greater stock of cattle of all sorts upon his grounds than any person whatsoever in the west of England. Besides this, the ordering of delinquents' estates in those parts being before that time not well looked to, by virtue of these sequestrations he seized upon all the stock upon the grounds, upon all the furniture in the several houses, and compelled the tenants to pay to him all the rents due from the beginning of the rebellion. By these and such like means he had not only a vast stock, but received great sums of money, and had as great store of good household-stuff as would furnish well those houses he looked upon as his own. And this was his own estate, upon which he had maintained himself without any allowance from the King; which, I am confident, (besides what he got by his contributions, which would always pay double the men he had, and were exactly levied, and by his other arts and extortions of several kinds,) was more, and more worth in money to him, than his majesty bestowed upon all his general commanders of armies, and upon all his officers of state, since the beginning of the rebellion to that time. This computation would seem too enviously made, if I should take any view of the services he ever did; and therefore (though they that are very good witnesses say, that notwithstanding all the bold promises of taking Plimmoth within few days, his farthest guards 1645

1645 were never nearer that town than the lord Hopton's head quarter was the next day that he came first thither) I shall leave that to other men to make the estimate.

63. Now when sir Richard Greenevill desired a protection for his houses and estates at Barstable, it was conceived that he apprehended there might, under pretence of claim, some attempt be made upon his stock by the owners; or that he feared that there might be too strict an inquiry by him that succeeded, for such things as, being designed for the public service, had been applied to his particular private use; as, having with great importunity (as a thing upon which the service depended) gotten from the commissioners of Devon above 1000 deal-boards to make huts for the soldiers, he employed them all in the building a great riding-house at Buckland for his own pleasure. However so severe and terrible a person might easily be thought liable to many trespasses, when he should be removed from the place where he governed so absolutely, the protection was no sooner asked by him than promised by the Prince; but after his departure his servant bringing such a protection drawn, as exempted all those estates which the King had granted to him in sequestration from the payment of any contributions, (the which had been already so scandalous, that most of the principal persons of Cornwall had by that example, and with indignation at it, forborne to pay their rates,) he[1] was told the ill consequence of it, and that no person there in council (whereof some had had very much greater commands in armies than he, and the other thought their services deserved any reasonable privilege) had been ever freed from contribution, and thereupon those clauses were struck out, and the protection in a fuller manner than ordinary signed by the Prince; and sir J. Barkly, then present, declared, (of which his servant was advertised, though it was not fit, for the example, to put it in writing,) that he would not require any contribution for that estate which was his wife's, and enjoyed by him, though by virtue of the sequestration: and the denying of this protection was his great grievance. And yet (but that

[1] ['and he,' MS.]

was an act of his own sovereignty) he did not only never pay 1645
penny contribution before or after for all those estates, but refused to pay the fee-farm rent due to the King out of the earl of Bedford's estate, being 200 marks *per annum*, though the auditor was sent [1] to him to demand it.

64. After this angry letter to the lords, and the throwing up his commission without a letter, and so having no commission at all to meddle in martial affairs, he fixed a quarter with his own horse and foot at St. Mary Otre, within three [2] miles of Exciter; where he governed as imperiously as ever, raised what money he would, and imprison[ed] [3] what persons he would. In the end, sir J. Barkly, having appointed the constables of those hundreds which were assigned for Plimmoth to bring in their accounts of what money they had paid to sir Richard Greenevill, (which he protested [4] he did only that thereby he might state the arrears, without the least thought of reproach to the other,) he caused a warrant to be read in all churches in the county, (that is, ordered it to be read in all, and in some it was read,) that all persons should bring him an account of what monies or goods had been plundered from them by sir John Barkly or any under him, with several clauses very derogatory to his reputation. This, as it could not otherwise, begat great resentments; insomuch as the commissioners of Devon sent an express to the Prince, who was then in Cornwall, beseeching him to call sir Richard Greenevill from thence, and to take some order for the suppressing the furious inclinations on both sides, or else they apprehended the enemy would quickly take an advantage of those dissensions, and invade the country before they otherwise intended; and in their letter sent one of the warrants that sir Richard had caused to be read in churches; which indeed was the strangest I ever saw.

65. Hereupon the Prince sent for sir Richard Greenevill to attend him, who accordingly came to him at Liskard [5]; where

[1] [Originally, 'though I sent the auditor.'] [2] [thirteen.]
[3] ['imprisoning,' MS.] [4] ['and I verily believe,' struck out].
[5] [At Bodmin. Greenville's own account, among the Clarendon MSS.; Carte's *Letters*, i. 101.]

1645 his highness told him the sense he had of his disrespect towards him in the sending back his commission in that manner, [and] of his carriage after; and asked him what authority he now had either to command men or to publish such warrants. He answered that he was high shrief of Devon, and by virtue of that office he might suppress any force, or inquire into any grievance his county suffered, and as far as in him lay give them remedy. He was told, as shrief he had no power to raise or lead men otherwise than by the *posse comitatus*, which he could not upon his own head raise without warrant from the justices of peace: that in these martial times he was to receive orders, upon occasions, from the commander in chief of the King's forces, who had authority to command him by his commission; and he was asked what he would have done if, when he commanded before Plimmoth, the high shrief of Cornwall should have caused such a warrant concerning him to be read in churches. He answered little to the questions, but sullenly extolled his services and enlarged his sufferings. Afterwards, being reprehended with more sharpness than ever before, and being told that, whatever discourses he made of spending his estate, it was well understood that he had no estate by any other title than the mere bounty of the King; that he had been courted by the Prince more than he had reason to expect, and that he had not made those returns on his part which became him; in short, if he had inclination to serve his highness, he should do it in that manner he should be directed; if not, he should not under the title of being shrief satisfy his own pride and passion: (upon which reprehension being much gentler than upon all the gracious addresses which had been made to him,) he answered, he would serve the Prince in such manner as he should command. And thereupon he was discharged, and returned to his house to Warrington, one of those places he had by sequestration, and [which] belonged to sir Francis Drake, where he lived privately for the space of a fortnight or thereabouts, without interposing in the public business. Let us see now how this tragedy was acted in other places.

66. We left the King at Hereford, not resolved what course to steer: prince Rupert gone to Bristol, from whence he made a short visit to the Prince at Barstable, to give him an account of the ill posture he had left the King in, and from thence went to his friend Goring to consult with him: and it was exceedingly wondered at that when he saw in what condition he was, (for he was then before Taunton,) and the number of his horse and foot, (which every body then thought had been his business to be informed of,) he did not then hasten advice to the King for his speedy repair thither; but his chief care was to secure Bristol, which, sure, at that time he made not the least question of doing, and believed the winter would come seasonably for future counsels. 1645 § 42.

67. The King quickly left Hereford, and went to meet the commissioners for South Wales at Abergavenny, the chief town in Monmouthshire. And as they were for the most part persons of the best quality and the largest fortunes of those counties, so they had manifested great loyalty and affection from the beginning of the war, by sending many good regiments to the army, and with their sons and brothers and nearest kindred, many of whom had lost their lives bravely in the field: and they now made as large and ample professions as ever, and seemed to believe that they should be able in a very short time to raise a good army of foot, with which the King might again look upon the enemy; and accordingly agreed what numbers should be levied upon each of the counties. And so from thence his majesty went to Ragland castle, the magnificent house of the marquis of Worcester, and which was well fortified and garrisoned by him, who remained then in it; and there he resolved to stay till he should see the effect of the commissioners' mighty promises. But he found in a short time that, either by the continued successes of the Parliament's armies in all places, the particular information whereof was every day brought to them by intelligence from their friends, or the triumphs of their enemies in Monmoth and Gloster, or by the renewed smart which the presence of their governor, general Gerard, gave them, (who had been, and continued to be, July 1. July 3.

1645 a passionate and unskilful cultivator of the affections of the people, as having governed them with extraordinary rigour, and with as little courtesy and civility towards the gentry as towards the common people,) there was little probability of raising an army in those parts, where all men grew less affected or more frighted, which produced one and the same effect. The King stayed at Ragland till the news came that Fayrefax, after he had taken Leicester, (which could not hold out longer than to make honourable conditions,) was marched
July 10. into the west, and had defeated Goring's troops at Lamport; and, at the same time, that the Scots' army was upon its march towards Worcester, having taken a little garrison that lay between Hereford and Worcester[1] by storm, and put all within it to the sword. And prince Rupert sent for all those foot which were levied towards a new army, and part of those which belonged to general Gerard, to supply the garrison of Bristol. So that his majesty seemed now to have nothing in his choice but to transport himself over the Severn to Bristol, and thence to have repaired to his army in the west; which would have been much better done before, yet had been well done then; and the King resolved to do so, and that the horse under Gerard and Langdale should find a transportation over Severn, which was very easy to be done, and so would as easily find the way to him wherever he should be.

July 24. 68. And this was so fully resolved, that his majesty went to the waterside near Chepstow, where vessels were ready to transport him, and where prince Rupert from Bristol met him, very well pleased with the resolution he had taken, though he had not been privy to the counsel. And here again the unhappy discord in the Court raised new obstructions; they who did not love prince Rupert, nor were loved by him, could not endure to think that the King should be so wholly within his power; and he himself was far from being importunate that he should prosecute his purpose, which he had not advised, though he liked [it] well enough, and so would not be answerable for any success. And his majesty himself being too

[1] [Canon Frome, about 23 July. Symonds' *Diary*, p. 210.]

irresolute, the counsel was again changed, and the King 1645
marched to Cardiff; where he had been very little time when July 29.
he was informed that Bridgewater was lost: and then they July 23.
who had dissuaded the King's embarkation for Bristol were much exalted, and thought themselves good counsellors; though, in truth, the former resolution had been even then much better pursued, for nothing could have hindered his majesty from going to Exciter, and joining all his forces, which would have put him into a posture much better than he was ever afterwards. Indeed the taking Bridgewater, (which the King had been persuaded to believe a place impregnable,) could not but make great impressions upon the King to think that he was betrayed, and consequently not to know whom to trust, and it was matter of amazement to all men; nor was it any excuse that it was not of strength enough against so strong an army; for it was so strongly situated, (and it might well have had all those additions which were necessary by fortifications,) that it was inexcusable in a governor who had enjoyed that charge above three years, with all allowances he had himself desired, and had often assured the King that it was not to be taken, that it was not able to resist any strength that could come before it for one week; and within less than that time it was surrendered and put into Fayrefax's hands.

69. That this prodigious success should break the spirits of most men, and even cast them into despair, is not at all to be wondered at; but that it should raise the hopes of any that it would produce a peace, is very strange; and yet this imagination did so much harm, that men generally neglected to make that preparation against a powerful and insulting enemy that it was in their power to have made, out of confidence that the offer of a treaty would now prevail, and produce a peace; and every man abounded so much in his own sense, that they were not capable of any reason that contradicted it. The commissioners in all counties (which were the best gentlemen and of best affections, upon whom the King depended to apply the common people to his service) were so fully of this opinion that they made cabals with the principal officers of the army

1645 to concur with them in this judgment, and to contrive some way how it might be brought to pass; and too many of them were weary of doing their duty, or so much ashamed of not having done it that they professed themselves to desire it at least as much as the rest. And this temper spread itself so universally, that it reached to prince Rupert himself; who writ his advice to that purpose to the duke of Richmond, to be presented to the King; who took that occasion to write the ensuing letter to the prince with his own hand, and which was so lively an expression of his own soul that no pen else could have written it, and deserves to be transmitted to posterity, as a part of the portraiture of that incomparable King, which hath been disguised by false or erroneous copies from the true original; which was in these words, from Cardiff, in the beginning of the month of August[1]:

70. 'C. R.

'Nephew,

'This is occasioned by a letter of yours which the Duke of Richmond shewed me yesternight. And first, I assure you, I have been, and ever will be, very careful to advertise[2] you of my resolutions so soon as they are taken; and if I enjoined silence to that which was no secret, it was not my fault, for I thought it one, and I am sure it ought to have been so now. As for the opinion of my business, and your counsel thereupon, if I had any other quarrel but the defence of my religion, crown, and friends, you had full reason for your advice; for I confess, that, speaking either as a mere soldier or statesman, I must say there is no probability but of my ruin; but as a Christian, I must tell you, that God will not suffer rebels[3] to prosper, or this cause to be overthrown: and whatever personal punishment it shall please him to inflict upon me, must not make me repine, much less to give over this quarrel[4]; which, by the grace of God, I am resolved against, whatever it cost me; for I know my obligations to be,

[1] [Clarendon here adds 'vid. the letter,' but does not insert it. The following copy is taken from two MS. copies preserved among the Clarendon Papers, of which the first is endorsed by Clarendon himself, and the second is in the handwriting of his secretary, Edgeman. It varies in many places from the copy printed in the last edition, which was taken from Rushworth, IV. i. 132; but was printed with almost entire correctness in the edition of 1826.]

[2] ['advise,' Edgeman's copy.]

[3] ['and traitors;' Rushworth.]

[4] [The following words are in Rushworth, which are not found in either of the MS. copies:—'and there is as little question that a composition with them at this time is nothing else but a submission.']

both in conscience and honour, neither to abandon God's cause, injure my successors, nor forsake my friends. Indeed I cannot flatter myself with expectation of good success, more than this, to end my days with honour and a good conscience, which obliges me to continue my endeavours, as not despairing that God may in due time avenge his own cause. Though I must avow to all my friends, that he that will stay with me at this time must expect and resolve either to die for a good cause, or (which is worse) to live as miserable in maintaining it as the violence of insulting rebels can make him. 1645

'Having thus truly and impartially stated my case unto you, and plainly told you my positive resolutions, (which by the grace of God I will not alter, they being neither lightly nor suddenly grounded,) I earnestly desire you not in any wise to hearken after treaties, assuring you that, as low as I am, I will not go less than what was offered in my name at Uxbridge. Confessing that it were as great a miracle that they should agree to so much reason, as that I should be within a month in the same condition that I was immediately before the battle at Naisby. Therefore, for God's sake, let us not flatter ourselves with these conceits. And believe me, the very imagination that you are desirous of a treaty will lose[1] me so much the sooner; wherefore, as you love me, whatsoever you have already done, apply your discourse according to my resolution and judgment. As for the Irish, I assure you they shall not cheat me, but it is possible they may cozen themselves; for be assured, what I have refused to the English, I will not grant to the Irish, rebels, never trusting to that kind of people (of what nature soever) more than I see by their actions. And I am sending to Ormond such a despatch as I am sure will please you and all honest men; a copy whereof by the next opportunity you shall have. Lastly, be confident I would not have put you nor myself to the trouble of this letter, had I not a great estimation of you, and a full confidence of your friendship to your, etc.

['Caerdiffe, Aug. 3, 1645.'] 'C. R.'

71. When the King came to Cardiff, he was entertained with the news that the Scots' army was set down before Hereford, and that if it were not relieved within a month it must fall into their hands. To provide for this, there could be no better way found out than to direct the shriefs of those Welsh counties to summon their *posse comitatus*, whereby the King was persuaded to hope that there would be men enough to wait upon him in that expedition; who, with the horse he had, would have been equal to any attempt they could make upon the Scots. But it was quickly discovered that this expedient had raised an unruly spirit, that could not easily be

[1] ['loose' in both MS. copies.]

1645 suppressed again; for the discontented gentlemen of those counties, now they had gotten the people legally together, put them in mind of the injuries they had received from general Gerard, and the intolerable exactions they lay under, which would undoubtedly be increased if he continued in that government. So that, instead of providing men to march with the King, they provided a long list of grievances, from all which they desired to be relieved before they would apply themselves towards the relief of Hereford. All this was so sturdily urged, that a body of no less than four thousand men of those who were thus called together continued together many days, and would not be separated, till the King was even compelled to give them satisfaction in the particular they most insisted upon, which was the removal of general Gerard from having any command over them; and that charge was presently con-
Dec. 6. ferred upon the lord Astly, the major general of the army, who was most acceptable to them; and they afterwards conformed themselves as much to his directions as from the distraction of the time, and the continual ill successes, should be expected by him.

72. But it was the hard fate of the King that he could not provide what was fit for his own service except he provided likewise for the satisfaction of other men's humours and appetites. Gerard had now, upon the matter, the command of all the forces the King had to trust to, and he was of too impetuous a nature to submit to any thing for conscience, or discretion, or duty; so that the King was compelled to satisfy his ambition
Nov. 8. for this present degradation by making him a baron; and, (which was an odd and a very fantastical circumstance that attended it,) for no other reason than because there was once
1514 an eminent person called Charles Brandon who was afterwards made a duke, he would be created baron of Brandon, that there might be another Charles Brandon who had no less aspiring thoughts than the other; when he had no pretence to the lands of Brandon, which belonged [to,] and were at that time in the possession of, a gallant and worthy gentleman, sir Thomas Glemham; who at the same time, very unluckily, came to the

King at Cardiff, with about two hundred foot, which he had brought with him out of the garrison of Carlisle; which place he had defended for the space of eleven months against David Lashly, and till all the horses of the garrison were eaten, and then had rendered upon as honourable conditions as had been given upon any surrender. David Lashly himself conveyed him to Hereford, where he joined with the other part of that army, and from thence sir Thomas Glemham (who was by his conditions to march to the King wherever he was) came to his majesty at Cardiff, at the time when[1] the title of his own land, which he inherited as heir to the family of Brandon, was conferred upon a gentleman (how well extracted soever) of less quality and fortune, and, as many thought, merit. And this unseasonable preferment more irritated the country from which the King then expected assistance, that, when they believed they had accused him of crimes which deserved the highest censure, they saw him pretend to, and rewarded in, a higher degree than but for their accusation he could never probably have arrived to. And so the King, after all his endeavours were rendered fruitless, entertained a new imagination, that he might get into Scotland to the marquis of Mountrose, who had done wonders there; and thereupon left Cardiff, and, over the mountains by Brecknock and Radnor, he passed the Scots' quarters, and came to Ludlow, before that army had any notice of his march. 1645 June 25. Aug. 5. Aug. 7.

73. When the King came first to Ragland he had sent an express to the Prince, by which he wished that the lord Culpeper and the Chancellor of the Exchequer might as soon as was possible attend his majesty. The danger of the way was such, and the passage so difficult, that the messenger came not quickly to him. But the Chancellor being then unfit to travel by reason of the gout, the lord Culpeper made all possible haste out of Cornwall, where the Prince then was, and found his majesty at Cardiff, when he was departing from thence, and waited on him to Brecknock; from whence he was again despatched with this letter to the Prince; which, being the first direction the King

[1] [Three months before.]

1645 gave of that nature, is necessary to be here inserted in the words it contained [1].

'Brecknock, the 5th of August, 1645.

74. 'Charles,

'It is very fit for me now to prepare for the worst; in order to which I spoke with Culpeper this morning concerning you; judging it fit to give it you under my hand, that you may give the readier obedience to it. Wherefore [know [2]] that my pleasure is, whensoever you find yourself in apparent danger of falling into the rebels' hands, that you convey yourself into France, and there to be under your mother's care; who is to have the absolute full power of your education in all things, except religion, and in that not to meddle at all, but leave it entirely to the care of your tutor, the bishop of Salisbury, or to whom he shall appoint to supply his place, in time of his necessitated absence. And for the performance of this, I command you to require the assistance and obedience of all your council, and, by their advice, the service of every one whom you and they shall think fit to be employed in this business; which I expect should be performed, if need require, with all obedience, and without grumbling. This is all at this time from

'Your loving father,

'Charles R.'

75. After the lord Goring had lain some time in the ill humour we left him at Barstable, he entered into correspondence with sir Richard Greenevill, who he knew well was as uninclined to the council about the Prince as himself; and finding that the enemy troubled him not, but had given him rest, whilst the army was employed upon other more important service, they [3] two met privately, and, upon the encouragement and money he received from him, he writ to the Chancellor a very cheerful and a very long letter, bearing date the 1st of
Aug. 1. August, in which he inserted several propositions, which he said had been framed upon conference with sir R. Greenevill; which he desired might be presented to the Prince; and if they should be consented to and confirmed by his highness, he said he would engage his life that he would in a very short time have an army of ten or twelve thousand men, that should march

[1] [Clarendon here adds, 'vid. the King's letter of the 5 Aug. 1645, from Brecknock,' but does not insert it in this place. It is, however, found in another part of the MS., at a page numbered 38, where it is introduced by a few lines to the same effect as those in the text, except that the reason why Culpeper went to the King alone is said to be the Prince's 'commanding me to attend still upon his person.']

[2] ['knowing,' MS.]

[3] ['and they,' MS.]

whithersoever they should be commanded, and should be in as good order as any army in the world; and concluded his letter with these words; 'I see some light now of having a brave army very speedily of foot, and I am sending a copy of this enclosed letter to the King, with this profession, that I will be content to lose my life and my honour if we do not perform our parts, if these demands be granted.' 1645

76. This letter being presented to his highness, (being then at Lanson,) found so gracious a reception, that the next day, being the 2d of August, the Prince returned him an answer of full consent, and the same day signed all the particulars proposed by him, expressing a further resolution to add whatever else should be proposed to him, and within his power to grant; so that there was once more a hope of looking the enemy in the face, and having a fair day for the west. And the next day, or thereabouts, sir Richard Greenevill himself attended the Prince, in a seeming good humour. All the propositions were immediately confirmed; some of which were, that sir Richard Greenevill should receive such a proportion of the contributions of Cornwall, and £5000 of the arrears for the payment of the officers of the army; and thereupon sir Richard would gather up all the stragglers who were returned into Cornwall from their colours, who, he said, would amount to 3000 foot, and would raise 3000 foot more in Devonshire. And so he betook himself again to action, sending out his warrants, and levying men and money, having lent £200 to the lord Goring at their first meeting, and calling the *posse* of Devon to meet at several places, where himself was still present; by which he pretended he should speedily recruit the army. But before the end of August that friendship grew colder, sir Richard observing a better correspondence between the lord Goring and sir J. Barkly than he hoped would have been; and, hearing that the lord Goring used to mention him very slightly, (which I believe was true,) he writ a very curst letter to him, in which he said he would have no more to do with him. However he continued as active as before, being now in Devon and then in Cornwall, where he commanded absolutely without any commission, and Aug. 2.

1645 Middle of Sept. very seasonably suppressed an insurrection about St. Ive's, which might else have grown to a head, and hanged two or three fellows, who, I believe, were guilty enough, (by his own order, without any council of war,) and raised what money he pleased upon others; and then returned to his house at Warrington. And all the vivacity that had so lately appeared in the lord Goring, upon the news of the loss of Sherborne, declined; and then there was nothing but complaint of want of money, and a proposition to put the army into garrisons; and yet the enemy gave them the same leisure to pursue the former design, Fayrefax being then engaged with his army before Bristol.

77. As soon as the Prince, who was then at Lanson, had read the letter which the lord Culpeper brought to him from the King, he returned it to the lord Culpeper to keep, and to communicate to the lords Capel, Hopton, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; for it was their very great misfortune, that there was not so good a correspondence with the lord of Barkshire (through some jealousies that were infused into him) as was desired; and from the Prince his first coming into Cornwall, some of his servants of the best quality[1], (who had from the beginning been discontented, and upon strange pretences thought themselves undervalued that they were not of the council, and, since the King's misfortune at Navesby, they expressed their indispositions with more license,) had whispered abroad that there was a purpose to carry the Prince into France; not that they believed it, but thereby thought to render the council odious and suspected; and had wrought so far upon the lord of Barkshire that he seemed to believe it too, and thereby they got so much interest in him that he always communicated whatsoever passed in council to them; so that a letter of so great importance was not thought fit to be communicated to him, nor to the earl of Brayntford, who (though he was very kind and just to the other four) was not without his jealousies, and was an ill treasurer of secrets. They were very much troubled at

[1] [The words 'of the best quality' are substituted for, 'as Sir Ch. Barkly, Mr. Longe, and Mr. Kirton.' All through this section Clarendon has, in speaking of the council, altered 'we,' 'us,' etc. to 'they,' 'them,' etc.]

the sight of the letter, not at the command of leaving the king- 1645
dom, for, (though they had never communicated their thoughts to each other upon that subject before,) they found themselves unanimous in the resolution, that, rather than he should be taken by the rebels, they would carry him into any part of the Christian world. For the better doing whereof, from that minute, they took care that there was always a ship ready in the harbour of Falmoth. But it troubled them that the King's command was so positive for France, against which they could make to themselves many objections, besides that one of the Prince's bedchamber, who was newly returned from Paris, brought a letter from the earl of Norwitch, then the King's ambassador there, to one of the council, in which, taking notice of a report there of the Prince of Wales' coming thither, he passionately declared against it, as a certain ruin to the Prince; of which the messenger[1], by his direction, gave many instances of moment. And they were the more troubled because the lord Culpeper, (who brought that letter from the King,) averred that he had had no conference with the King upon the argument, but had wholly declined it, as a matter too great for him: so that they had nothing before them but that letter. After two or three sad debates between themselves, they agreed upon a letter to be prepared in cipher, presenting their reasons, and what they had been informed concerning France; and therefore offered it to his majesty, whether he would not leave the place to them, or nominate some other, against which so many exceptions might not be made; and proposed Ireland, (if the peace were made there,) or Scotland, if the marquis of Mountrose was as victorious as he was reported to be; withal assuring his majesty, that, in case of danger, they would run any hazard, or into any country, before the Prince should fall into the hands of the rebels. And this letter, after it was communicated with the Prince, as the debates had been, was forthwith sent by an express.

78. Towards the end of August, the lord Goring, after he Sept. 29[2].
had, in all his secret discourses and in the hours of his jollity,

[1] [The name, 'col. Murray,' is struck out.] [2] [*Cal. Cl. S. P.*, I. 280.]

1645 spoken very bitterly of the council about the Prince, as the authors of all the miscarriages, sent the lord Wentworth to Lanson to his highness, with certain demands, as he called them, on his behalf; but with direction that, before he presented them to the Prince, he should communicate them to the lord Culpeper, or to the Chancellor, and be advised by them in what manner to present them.

79. His demands were, and so he styled them, 1. To have a commission to be lieutenant general of all the west, and to command, immediately under the Prince, garrisons as well as the army, and to be sworn of the council as soon as might be. 2. That all commissions to officers of the army, when his highness is present, be given by the Prince, but that he should sign none but such as he should prepare for him. 3. That in the Prince's absence he should sign and grant all commissions; and that, if any governments of towns should fall vacant, he might have the absolute recommendation of those that are to succeed, or at least a negative voice. 4. That all designs of consequence should be debated in the Prince his presence, by the Prince's council, and such officers of the army as he should choose to assist at it. 5. That the number of the Prince's guards should be limited. And many other particulars, which seemed so unreasonable, and unfit to be publicly urged, that the lord Culpeper persuaded the lord Wentworth to suspend the presenting them; the rather, (as he said,) because the Chancellor was then absent,
Sept. 18. (being sent by his highness to Pendennis castle, under pretence of giving some direction in the matter of the customs, but in truth to take care that the frigate provided for the Prince's transportation might be in readiness, and victual to be privately made ready, to be presently put on board when the occasion should require,) and likewise because his highness intended to be shortly at Exciter, where the lord Goring, being present, might better consider and debate his own business; to the which the lord Wentworth consented.

80. For the commissioners of Devon had besought his highness to interpose his authority in the regulating and disposing the army to march towards the relief of Bristol; declaring, as

the posture of it then was, that both that county and garrisons must in a short time be as much undone and lost by them as by the invasion of the enemy; that all the foot subsisted by, and lived upon, the magazines of the garrisons, and the horse possessed the other parts of the country to themselves, and would neither suffer provisions to be brought to the markets, for the replenishing their stores, nor any warrants to be executed for any payments; pretending they were to defend their own quarters, whilst themselves levied what money they pleased, and committed all sorts of insolences and outrages. And by this means, both before in Somersetshire and afterwards in Devonshire, when the King's army was forced to retire, the enemy found great plenty of provisions in those quarters where his forces were in danger of starving: as all about Taunton there were very great quantities of corn, when they caused all their bread to be brought out of the stores of Bridgewater and Exciter; which proceeded partly from the negligence and laziness of the officers and soldiers, who would not be at the trouble of threshing out the mows and ricks which were there, but principally by the protection given by the horse, who would not suffer any thing to be carried out of their quarters; and such as sent their provisions to market were sure to have their money taken from them in their return. Insomuch as it was affirmed by the commissioners of Exciter, that before the enemy had any quarter within ten miles there was not so much provision brought into that city in a fortnight as they spent in a day; which was only by reason of the disorder of our own horse; and general Goring all this time lay in Exciter, breaking jests, and laughing at all people who brought complaints to him; as one day, when all the fishermen complained to him, that as they came to the market they were robbed by his troopers, who took all their fish from them, he said that they might by this see what great injury was done to his men by those who accused them of so great swearing; 'for if they did swear, you know,' said he, 'they would catch no fish.' 1645

81. Upon these reasons, and the very earnest desire of the lord Goring and the commissioners, the Prince, on Friday the Aug. 29.

1645 29th of August, went from Lanson to Exciter in one day; leaving Sir Richard Greenevill (who then seemed to be in good humour) to bring up the soldiers in Cornwall, and to hasten his levies in the north and west parts of Devon. The army having now lain still from the beginning of July to the end of August, without the least action, or alarum from the enemy, and so being sufficiently refreshed, and, as their officers said, awakened to a sense and a shame of their former amazements, it was unanimously agreed at a council of war, his highness being present, that the foot should presently advance to Tiverton, and the horse to the east of Exciter; and that, as soon as sir Richard Greenevill could come up with his men, they should all advance to the relief of Bristol, which was understood to be in a very good condition; the last messenger that came thence assuring the Prince, as from prince Rupert, that he was sufficiently provided with all necessaries for six months.

82. There had been from the time of the first going of the Prince into Cornwall several rumours dispersed, by those who were discontented or angry with the council, that there was an intent to carry the Prince into France, which begat infinite prejudice to all that was advised. And of this discourse general Goring had made great use, to the disadvantage of all those whom he desired to discredit; which was indeed one of the motives of his highness' journey to Exciter, that he might discountenance that report; which wrought so far amongst the gentlemen of the several western counties, who were resorted thither for safety, that there was a resolution to petition the Prince to interpose between the King and Parliament, and to send a message to the latter with overtures of peace: and to that purpose meetings had been amongst those gentlemen, to agree upon what articles the Prince should propose a peace; every man declaring his opinion, what condescension should be in the matter of the Church, of the militia, and of Ireland, upon consideration of what had passed at Uxbridge. When my lords heard of these consultations, they apprehended great inconveniences might arise from thence to the King's service and to the Prince's honour, who by being pressed by their desires and im-

portunities would lose the honour and thanks of the good success that might attend it: besides that if he should send any message upon their motion, they would quickly make themselves judges of the matter of it, and so counsellers of what was to be done upon it: and therefore they were all of opinion[1] that all endeavours were to be used to divert and prevent any petition of such a nature to be presented to his highness; which, with great difficulty, was at last prevented[2]. 1645

83. Shortly after the Prince's coming to Exciter, the lord Goring, being not then well but engaged in a course of physic, desired that he might have a free conference with one of the council[3] in private; in which he professed he would discover his heart, and whatever had stuck with him. Whereupon, according to appointment, the person he had desired went to him in a morning to his lodging, when he caused all persons to

[1] [The words 'that it would be necessary for the Prince himself to make some attempt for the procuring a peace if it were possible, but' are here struck out in the MS.]

[2] [The following passage is here struck out:—

'to which purpose we spake to the governor; and I, observing that sir Peter Ball was very active and solicitous in that design, and knowing well his temper, not easily to be contained within modest and prudent bounds, spake one day to my lord Goring, who I knew had the absolute power over him, of the business, and told him, that I believed it might be very counsellable for the Prince to send some popular message to Fayrefax, whereby a treaty for peace might be procured; but that there could not be a more effectual course taken to render any such overture useless as by an open and passionate appearance in the country, whereby the proposition would be judged not to proceed from the Prince's piety but their importunity, and the insolence of the enemy be so much increased as they would judge so great a party to be cast down and dejected; and therefore I desired him to dissuade sir Peter Ball from having any hand in it. But I quickly found he was privy to the whole design; and, after many arguments, he told me he could not advise him to desist from that which he thought very reasonable to be attempted; and that for his part he saw no hope in any thing but a treaty, nor no way to compass a treaty but this that was proposed. However, by the governor's great diligence and activity, that course of petitioning or proposing was waived; and the Prince himself sent that message to sir Thomas Fayrefax, for a safe conduct for the lords Hopton and Culpeper, which was public, and afterwards so much neglected.'] Sept. 15.

[3] [Altered from 'with me'; and corresponding alterations are made in the rest of the passage, which originally described the conversation as being with Hyde himself.]

1645 withdraw, and wished his servant not to suffer any man to disturb them. When they were by themselves, he began with the discourse of unkindnesses he had apprehended from the council, and from that person in particular, but confessed he was deceived and abused by wrong information: that he was now very sensible of the damage that had befallen the public by those private jealousies and mistakes, and desired that if any thing had indiscreetly or passionately fallen from him it might be forgotten, and that they might all proceed vigorously in what concerned the King's service; in which he could not receive a better encouragement than by an assurance of that person's friendship. From this, he discoursed at large his apprehensions of his brother Porter, of his cowardice and of his treachery, with very great freedom in many particular instances, and concluded that he resolved to quit himself of him; and after two hours spent in those discourses, and in somewhat that concerned his father, in which he said he was to receive [this person's [1]] advice by his father's direction, (it being about the government of Pendennis,) as if he had said all he meant to say, he asked the other negligently, what he thought of the demands he had sent by my lord Wentworth? protesting he had no private thoughts, but only an eye to the public service; towards the doing whereof, as the exigents of affairs then stood, he did not think himself sufficiently qualified. The other told him, that whatever he thought of them would not signify much, being but a single voice in council, by the concurrent advice whereof, he presumed, the Prince would govern himself: however, if he would have him tell him his opinion as a friend, he would shew himself so ill a courtier as to tell it him frankly; which, except he reformed him in judgment, he should declare when it should be proposed, and he believed it would be the opinion of most of the lords if it should not be his. Thereupon he told him very freely and plainly, that he thought it not fit for the Prince to grant, nor seasonable for him to demand; his authority being the same, as to the public, all his orders being obeyed, and the Prince giving him the same assistance, as if he were his lieutenant general:

[1] ['my,' MS.]

that his highness had not hitherto interposed his authority in the governing that army[1]; and therefore that he conceived it unseasonable at that time [for his highness] to interest himself in the command thereof, which he should do by making him his lieutenant general[2]: that the King having directed the Prince to make the lord Hopton his lieutenant general, it would not become them to advise the Prince to alter that designation without receiving his majesty's command: and therefore he advised him, since the alteration was no way necessary, and would inevitably beget much trouble, that he would defer the pressing it till the King's affairs should be in a better posture. Satisfied he was not, yet he forbore to importune the Prince for that purpose at that time[3]. 1645

84. About the middle of September, the Prince being still at Exciter, the news came of the fatal loss of Bristol; which, (as all ill accidents did,) cast all men on their faces, and damped all the former vigour and activity for a march. However, the former resolutions continued of drawing to Tiverton, and at least of defending those passes, and keeping the enemy from invading Devon: for the better doing whereof, and enabling them to fight if Fayrefax should advance, the Prince returned to Sept. 11.

[1] ['or in any hostile act against the Parliament:' *struck out.*]

[2] ['when he was offering himself as a mediator for peace between the King and the Parliament, for the which he might be thought the more competent for not having transacted anything in the war:' *struck out.*]

[3] [The words 'till the King's affairs—that time' are substituted for the following passage, which is struck out:—

'till the King might throughly consider, who might probably find some way to satisfy my lord Hopton, and by whose direction and command alone it could be fit to satisfy his lordship. I cannot say he was satisfied with what I said; for he objected many things, and told me, he had reason to believe that all the council were not of my opinion; and if he could satisfy me, that he was resolved to press the Prince in it. I replied, that it might be other men were better courtiers than I, and spake not their opinions so freely to him; (for I well knew my lord Culpeper, who was as far from consenting to those propositions as I was, was yet well contented that my lord Goring should believe otherwise;) who, when it came to be debated, would be of the same mind. However, I told him, he should do well to propose it, and if there were no more of my mind he could receive no prejudice by my dissent. He said he would speak with me again the next day, but I heard no more of it till I left Exciter.']

1645 Lanson, whither he summoned all the train-bands of Cornwall, and an appearance of the whole country; which appeared very cheerfully, and seemed well inclined to march to Tiverton. In the mean time, the same negligence and disorder continued in the army, and the lord Goring with the same license and unconcernedness remained at Exciter, to the great scandal of the country and disheartening of the army. About the latter end
Sept. 28. of September his lordship wrote a letter to the lord Culpeper, in which he remembered him of the propositions formerly sent by the lord Wentworth to Lanson, and recounted at large, (but very unjustly,) the discourse which had passed between the other counsellor and him at Exciter upon that subject, in which he charged the other with answers very far from those he received from him; and desired his lordship that, by his means, he might know positively what he was to trust to, and concluded, that without such a commission as he desired he could not be answerable for the mutinies and disorders of the army. Whereupon his highness, upon full consideration of the mischieves that would attend his service if he should consent to the matter of those demands, or comply with the manner of the demanding, sent him word[1] that he would not for the present grant any such commission, and wished him to pursue the former counsels and resolutions in advancing towards the enemy, all things being in a good forwardness in Cornwall to second him. And so there was no further pressing that overture; however, he presumed to write himself, in all his warrants, and treaties with the commissioners, and in some proclamations which he printed, *General of the West.*

85. The sudden and unexpected loss of Bristol was a new earthquake in all the little quarters the King had left, and no less broke all the measures which had been taken and the designs which had been contrived than the loss of the battle of Naseby had done. The King had made haste from Ludlow, that the Scots' army might no more be able to interrupt him; and with very little rest passed through Shropshire and Darby-
Aug. 15. shire till he came to Wellbeck, a house of the marquis of New-

[1] [The words 'by the lord Capell,' are here struck out.]

castle in Nottinghamshire, where was then a garrison for his majesty, where he refreshed himself and his troops two days; and, as far as any resolution was fixed in those days, the purpose was, to march directly into Scotland to join with the marquis of Mountrose, who had, upon the matter, reduced that whole kingdom. During his short stay at Wellbeck the governor of Newark, with the commissioners for Nottingham and Lincoln, repaired to him, as likewise all those gentlemen of Yorkshire who had been in Pomfrett castle, (that, after a long and worthy defence, was lately, for pure want of all kind of provision, surrendered upon good conditions, by which all the soldiers had liberty to repair to their own houses, and might live quietly there,) whereby the gentlemen assured the King they were as ready as ever to serve him when they should be required. Whether the natural irresolution of those about the King, or the imagination, upon this report of the gentlemen, that a body of foot might be speedily gathered together in those parts, (which was enough encouraged by the cheerfulness of all the gentlemen of the several counties,) prevailed upon them, but the King was persuaded that it was not best to continue his march with that swiftness which he intended towards Mountrose; but that it would be better to send an express to him, to agree upon a fit place for their meeting, and in the mean time his majesty might be able to refresh his wearied troops, and to raise a body of foot in those parts: to which purpose, Doncaster was proposed as a fit place to begin. And to Doncaster the King thereupon went; and the gentlemen so well performed their undertaking, that within three days there was an appearance of full three thousand foot, who undertook within four and twenty hours to appear well armed, and ready to march with his majesty what way soever he would go.

1645 July 21. Aug. 18.

86. And here again the King's froward fortune deprived him of this opportunity to put himself into a posture of war. That very night they received intelligence that David Lashly was come to Rotheram with all the Scots' horse, which was within ten miles of Doncaster. The news whereof so confounded them, (as beaten and baffled troops do not naturally in a short time

1645 recover courage enough to endure the sight of an enemy,) that they concluded that he came in pursuit of the King, and therefore that it was now too late to pursue their northern expedition, and that the King must speedily remove to a greater distance for his own security. Whereupon he made haste (without expecting that recruit of foot) from Doncaster back again to
Aug. 21. Newark, resolving then to go directly to Oxford; whereas David Lashly knew nothing of the King's being in those parts, but upon sudden orders from Scotland was required to march with all possible expedition with the horse, to relieve his own country from being totally overrun and subdued by the marquis of Mountrose, who had then actually taken Edinborough. The orders no sooner came to the army before Hereford but he began his march, without the least apprehension of any enemy in his way till he should come into Scotland; and so, as he had made a very long march that day, so he came tired and wearied with his troops that night into Rotheram. And he confessed afterwards, if the King had then fallen upon him, as he might easily have done, he had found him in a very ill posture to have made resistance, and he had absolutely preserved Mountrose. But by his so sudden retreat, David Lashly was at liberty to pursue his march for Scotland, and came upon Mountrose before he ex-
Sept. 13. pected such an enemy, and so prevented his future triumph that he was compelled with great loss to retire again into the Highlands; and Lashly returned time enough to relieve and support the Scots' army, when they were compelled to rise from Hereford.

87. The King with wonderful expedition prosecuted his journey to Oxford, though not without making some starts out of the way, by which he had opportunity to beat up some quarters of new levied horse for the service of the Parliament; and be-
Aug. 28[1]. fore the end of August he arrived at Oxford; where he did
Aug. 31. not stay more than two days, but departed from thence again to Worcester, with a resolution to attempt the relief of Here-

[1] [Symonds' *Diary*, p. 232, and *Iter Carolinum* in Gutch's *Collect. Cur.* ii. 444; 27 Aug. Dugdale's *Diary*, p. 81; 29 Aug. Walker's *Hist. Disc.* p. 128.]

ford, which had defended itself bravely, and very much weakened 1645
the Scots' army by frequent sallies, and they had only left a
body of eight hundred tired horse, which David Lashly left be-
hind him when he marched with the rest into Scotland; and
therefore the raising that siege was thought the less difficult;
and with this resolution he left Oxford the third day after he
came thither. And upon his arrival at Ragland[1], he was cer- Sept. 7.
tainly informed that Fayrefax had besieged Bristol; for which
nobody underwent any trouble; for all men looked upon the
place as well fortified, manned, and victualled; and the King
even then received a very cheerful letter from prince Rupert, in Aug. 12.
which he undertook to defend it full four[2] months; so that the
siege being begun so late as the beginning of September, there
was reasonable hope that the army might be ruined before the
town taken. And therefore the King prosecuted his former
resolution, at least to endeavour the relief of Hereford. And
as he was upon his march thither, he received intelligence that
the Scots' army, upon the notice of his purpose, was that morn-
ing [risen[3]] in great disorder and confusion, and resolved to Sept. 2.
make their retreat on the Welsh side of the river, and so to
pass through Gloster. The news was so welcome, and his ma-
jesty received with so full joy into the city of Hereford, that Sept. 4.
there was not the opportunity embraced to discommode at least,
if not to ruin, the Scots' army, which now passed through a
strange country, where they had never been, and where the
whole nation was extremely odious to the people. Nor would
the governor of Gloster suffer them to pass through his garri-
son, till they sent him word plainly, that, if they might not pass
through that town, they knew they should be very welcome to
pass through Worcester; by which argument he was convinced
and converted, so that he permitted them to go through that
town, from whence they prosecuted their march into the north.
And if in all this time they had been pursued by the King's
horse, considering the small body they had of their own, there

[1] [Probably a mistake for *Bromyard*, whither the King came on Sept. 3, since he did not go to Ragland till after the relief of Hereford.]

[2] [Altered from 'six.']

[3] ['rose,' MS.]

1645 is little doubt to be made, very many, if not the greater part, of that army had been destroyed.

88. But the King's heart was now so wholly set upon the relief of Bristol, [that[1]] nothing else was thought upon that might in any degree defer that. And so the King, from Hereford, advertised prince Rupert that he had raised the siege of Hereford, and that the Scots were marched northward; that he intended speedily to relieve him, and, in order to it, that he had then ordered general Goring to draw what force he could out of the west, and to march to the Somersetshire side of Bristol; and that his majesty would himself have a body of three thousand foot, drawn out of the several garrisons of those parts, which should pass over the Severn, about Berkely on Glostershire side; and that his horse, which were then above three thousand, should at the same time ford the Severn not far from Gloster, (as they might easily have done,) and so join with his foot; and by this means, all things being well concerted, they might hopefully fall on Fayrefax' quarters on both sides. And the better to bring all this to pass, the King himself went the
Sept. 11. second time to Ragland, (the house of the marquis of Worcester), sending the horse to those several places as might best facilitate the execution of the design that was formed for the relief of Bristol.

89. But when the King came to Ragland, he received the terrible information of the surrender of Bristol, which he so little apprehended, that if the evidence thereof had not been too unquestionable it could never have been believed. With what consternation and dejection of mind the King received this advertisement, needs no other description and enlargement than the setting down, in the very words of it, the letter which the King writ thereupon to prince Rupert; which, considering the unspeakable indulgence his majesty had ever shewed towards that prince, is sufficient evidence how highly he was offended and incensed by that act, which yet he took some time sadly to think of and consider before he would give himself to abate so much of his natural candour towards him. As [soon as] he re-

[1] ['and,' MS.]

ceived that monstrous intelligence, he presently removed from Ragland and returned to Hereford, which was the post he chose to enter upon new considerations of the desperateness of [the [1]] condition he was in, and to enter upon new consultations; and to that purpose sent orders for all the officers and their troops which had been sent into Shropshire, Worcestershire, and South Wales, to provide for the relief of Bristol, to attend him there. And as soon as he came to Hereford, he despatched an express with this letter to prince Rupert [2]: 1645 Sept. 14.

'Hereford, 14 Sept. 1645.

90. 'Nephew,

'Though the loss of Bristoll be a great blow to me, yet your surrendering it as you did is of so much affliction to me, that it makes me forget not only the consideration of that place, but is likewise the greatest trial of my constancy that hath yet befallen me; for what is to be done? after one that is so near me as you are, both in blood and friendship, submits himself to so mean an action (I give it the easiest term) such— I have so much to say that I will say no more of it: only, lest rashness of judgment be laid to my charge, I must remember you of your letter of the 12 Aug., whereby you assured me, (that if no mutiny happened,) you would keep Bristoll for four months. Did you keep it four days? Was there any thing like a mutiny? More questions might be asked, but now, I confess, to little purpose. My conclusion is, to desire you to seek your subsistence (until it shall please God to determine of my condition) somewhere beyond seas, to which end I send you herewith a pass; and I pray God to make you sensible of your present condition, and give you means to redeem what you have lost; for I shall have no greater joy in a victory, than a just occasion without blushing to assure you of my being

'Your loving uncle, and most faithful friend.'

91. With this letter the King sent a revocation of all commissions formerly granted to prince Rupert [3], and signified his pleasure to the lords of the Council at Oxford, whither prince Rupert was retired with his troops from Bristol, that they should require prince Rupert to deliver into their hands his commission. And whether the King had really some apprehension that he might make some difficulty in giving it up, and make some dis- Sept. 14.

[1] ['his,' MS.]

[2] [Hyde writes here 'enter the letter,' but does not copy it. The copy in the text is taken from the King's own copy, in his own hand, preserved among the Clarendon MSS., and endorsed by him, 'Copy of my letter to my nepueu (*sic*) Rupert.']

[3] [A copy of this is also among the Clarendon MSS.]

1645 order in Oxford, or whether it was the effect of other men's counsels, his majesty at the same time sent a warrant likewise for the present imprisonment of colonel Legg, who was governor of Oxford, as a person much in the prince's favour, and therefore like to be subservient to any of his commands. But this circumstance of rigour made the other judgment upon the prince thought to be over sudden, and that he should be made the first example of the King's severity when so many high enormities and miscarriages had passed without being called in question. And as nobody suspected the prince's want of duty in submitting to the King's pleasure, so colonel Legg was generally believed to be a man of that entire loyalty to the King that he was above all temptations: and this circumstance of committing the governor made the other to be likewise suspected to be more the effect of the power of some potent adversaries than the effect of the King's own rigour.

92. When the Prince came to Lanson from Exciter, (which was about the middle of September, after the loss of Bristol,) and the motion of the enemy inclined westward, it was then thought fit to draw all the train-bands of Cornwall to Lanson, and as many of them as could be persuaded to march eastward; it being agreed at Exciter, that, if the enemy gave time, the force of both counties (save what was necessary to be continued at Plimmoth) should be drawn to Tiverton, and upon that pass to fight with the rebels; for the better compassing whereof, it was ordered that sir Richard Greenevill should command all the Cornish train-bands, to which should be added his own three regiments which he had carried to Taunton, and which took themselves to be so disobliged, both officers and soldiers, (as in truth they were,) by the lord Goring, that they were absolutely disbanded, and could by no other means be gotten together but upon assurance that they should be commanded by sir Richard Greenevill. Things being thus settled, he seemed well satisfied, having all the respect and encouragement from the Prince that could be or was desired; and without any other indisposition than that once in two or three days he would write a letter either to the Prince himself, the lords, or Mr. Fanshaw, extolling

himself, and reproaching the lord Goring's plundering horse, 1645
and sometimes sir John Barkly; in all which he used a marvellous license.

93. During the Prince's being at Exciter, sir John Barkly had desired that, in respect his continual presence would be necessary at Exciter, since the enemy apparently looked that way, his[1] highness would dispose the command of the forces before Plimmoth to such a person as he thought fit, who might diligently attend that service. There was a general inclination to have remitted sir Richard Greenevill again to that charge, which it was visible he looked for: but there were three great objections against it; the first, the pretence that general Digby had to that command, to whom it originally belonged, and both he and the earl of Bristol expected it upon this alteration, and he being at that time so well recovered in his health that he was well able to execute the command: the next, that if it should be offered to [Greenevill[2]] he would insist upon such assignations of contributions as would be impossible to consent to with the subsistence of the army and of the garrisons: the last and greatest was, that the whole design being now to draw such a body together as might give the rebels battle, [this[3]] could not be without the Cornish train-bands, and those other soldiers who had run from their colours, neither of which would march without sir Richard Greenevill; and it was apparent if he went to Plimmoth, those old soldiers would go to him. Besides, his experience and activity was then thought most necessary to the marching army, where there was a great dearth of good officers. Hereupon it was resolved that general Digby should again resume the charge at Plimmoth, but upon any extraordinary occasion and advance of the enemy to receive orders from sir Richard Greenevill; and accordingly, upon sir Richard Greenevill's advancing into Devon and fixing a quarter at Okington [Oakhampton], he was ordered so to do: which he observed accordingly.

94. In the beginning of October the lord Goring persuaded Oct. 4.
the commissioners of Devon, upon his promise to punish and

[1] ['that his,' MS.] [2] ['him,' MS.] [3] ['which,' MS.]

1645 suppress all disorders in the soldier, and that the markets should be free, to double the contribution of the county for six weeks, and to assign half thereof to his army; by virtue whereof he raised vast sums of money, but abated nothing of the former disorders and pressures: neither was the money so raised regularly distributed amongst the soldiers, but disposed to such persons as he thought fit by his warrants to direct. Sir Thomas Fayrefax advanced no sooner as far as Cullumpton than the lord Goring gave over the thought of defending Devon, and by
Oct. 17. his letter of the [17th[1]] of October to the lord Culpeper, [said] that he had sent all the horse but one thousand westward, under the command of the major general, to join with the Cornish, who were to advance; and that himself, with one thousand horse and all his foot, resolved to stay in Exciter to defend the town, if the enemy came before it, or to be ready to attend the rear if they marched forward; and therefore desired that his highness would appoint whom he thought fit to give orders to the major general, who was prepared not to dispute any orders sent by any substituted by the Prince. Hereupon, the Prince had appointed sir Richard Greenevill to advance with the Cornish to Okington, and directed the major general to receive orders from him; but by that time they two had disposed their business into order, as they did very handsomely and cheerfully, general Goring changed his mind, and within four days after his former letter he retired with his thousand horse out of Exciter to Newton Bushell; and then sent to the Prince, by a letter
Oct. 22[2]. to the lord Culpeper, to know whether sir Richard Greenevill should receive orders from him; and offered to undertake any design with sir Richard Greenevill, or by himself, as the Prince should direct; or that if his presence and command should be thought, for any indisposition in the Cornish towards him, probable to produce any inconvenience to the service, he would willingly for that expedition resign his command to any the Prince would design for it: intimating withal that if the lord Hopton

[1] ['11th,' MS. But the original, which exists among the Clarendon MSS., is dated the 17th.]

[2] [*Calend. Clar. S. P.*, I. 283.]

had it, the lord Wentworth would willingly receive orders from him. His highness the next day writ to him that he committed the management of the whole to his lordship, and had commanded sir Richard Greenevill to receive orders from him, who had then a good body of Cornish with him, and power to draw off the men from Plimmoth if there should be occasion. 1645 Oct. 23.

95. The King's having been in that perpetual motion as hath been mentioned before, kept the express that had been sent to the King upon the first signification of his pleasure concerning the Prince's transportation into France from delivering that letter for some time. So that it was the middle of October before they received his majesty's further direction. And then this letter to the lord Culpeper was brought by the same express,

'Chirke Castle, 29th Sept. 1645.

96. 'Culpeper,

'I have seen and considered your despatches; and for this time you must be content with results without the reasons, leaving you to find them. Lord Goring must break through to Oxford with his horse, and from thence (if he can) find me out, wheresoever he shall understand I shall be; the region about Newark being, as I conceive, the most likeliest place. But that which is of more necessity, (indeed absolute,) is, that, (with the best conveniency, the most secrecy, and greatest expedition,) Prince Charles be transported into France; where his mother is to have the sole care of him, in all things but one, which is his religion, and that must still be under the care of the bishop of Salisbury; and this I undertake his mother shall submit unto: concerning which by my next despatch I will advertise her. This is all. So I rest

'Your most assured friend,

'Charles R.'

97. To which there was a postscript in these words:

'C. R. For lord Goring's business, though I wish it, I cannot say it is absolutely practicable; but for my son's, that is of necessity to be done; yet for the way, I leave it to your discretion, having already with you, as I conceive, as much power in paper as I can give you. France must be the place, not Scotland, nor Denmark. C. R.'[1]

98. Though this letter was writ after the loss of Bristol, yet

[1] [This postscript is struck out in the MS. The letter was written in cipher, and a deciphered copy exists among the Clarendon MSS., where in the postscript the signature C. R. comes after the words 'France must be the place,' as well as at the end, showing that the four last words were subsequently added.]

1645 when it arrived the hopes of the west were not thought desperate; and it was absolutely concluded between the lords, that, as the person of the Prince was never to be in hazard of being surprised, so he was not to be transported out of the King's dominions but upon apparent, visible, necessity, in point of safety: and the very suspicion of his going had been, both by the lord Goring and others, enviously whispered, to the great disheartening of the people; so that (besides that an unseasonable attempt of going might have been disappointed) they saw that the loss of the whole west, both garrisons and army, would immediately have attended that action; and therefore they thought they should be absolved in point of duty by the King, if they only preserved themselves in a power of obeying him, without executing his command at that time; especially since general Goring thought it not reasonable to observe the orders which were sent to him at the same time for marching towards the King, nor so much as advised with his highness, or communicated that he had received any such orders; and yet his highness let him know that he was well content that he should break through with his horse to the King; which he might have done.

Oct. 16. 99. The enemy having gained Tiverton made no great haste to the west of Exciter, but spent their time in fortifying some houses near the town, on the east side, without receiving the least disturbance from the army; the lord Goring entertaining himself in his usual jollity between Exciter, Totness, and Dartmoth; it being publicly spoken in Exciter that the lord Goring intended to leave the army, and speedily to go beyond seas, and that lieutenant general Porter resolved to go to the Parliament, long before the Prince understood general Goring's resolution to

Nov. 20. go into France from any intimation from himself. The 20th of November his lordship writ a letter from Exciter to the Prince by the lord Wentworth, that, now that the enemy and his lordship were settled in their winter quarters, (whereas the enemy was then as stirring as ever,) he did beg leave of his highness to spend some time for the recovery of his health in France, intimating that he hoped to do his highness some notable service by

that journey; and desired that the army might remain entirely under the command of the lord Wentworth (whereas not above a fortnight before he had writ that the lord Wentworth was very willing to receive orders from the lord Hopton) until his return, which, he said, should be in two months. And so, having despatched the lord Wentworth to the Prince with this letter to Truro, his lordship, never attending his highness' leave or approbation, went the same or the next day to Dartmoth, where he stayed no longer than till he could procure a passage into France, whither with the first wind he was transported; lieutenant general Porter at the same time declining the exercise of his command, and having received several messages, letters, and a pass from the enemy for his going to London; after the knowledge whereof, general Goring signed a warrant for the levying £200 upon the country for the bearing his charges. [1] The lord Wentworth, at the time of his being then at Truro, told some of his confidents, that the lord Goring intended to return no more to the army or into England, but relied upon him to preserve the horse from being engaged till he could procure a license from the Parliament to transport them for the service of a foreign prince, which would be a fortune to the officers. And the major general [2] said afterward at Lanson that he could not understand the lord Goring; and that at his going from the army he gave the officers great charge to preserve their regiments, for he had hope to get leave to transport them; and within few days after he arrived at Paris he sent captain Porridge into England to fetch all his saddle-horses and horses of service, upon pretence that he was to present them in France; though at the same time he assured his friends that he was returning speedily with men and money, the which was not the more believed by his sending for his horses. 1645

100. Though there had been no great modesty used in the discourses of the people towards general Goring from the time of his first fastening in the west, especially of the Cornish, whom he had most unskilfully irreconciled to him by continual neglects

[1] [The words, 'Dr. Frayzer told me that,' are here struck out.]

[2] [The words, 'who is a very worthy person,' are here struck out.]

1645 and contempts of them, (as he would usually before Taunton, when he viewed his foot, clap an Irishman, or one of those soldiers who came out of Ireland, who doubtless were good men, on the shoulders, and tell him, in the hearing of the rest, that he was worth ten Cornish cowards, the greatest part of his present strength, and all his future hopes, depending upon the Cornish, many whereof had reason to believe themselves not inferior to any who had served the King,) yet from the time that he left the army, and went for France, they gave themselves a greater license, and declared that he had from the beginning combined with the rebels, and, having wasted and ruined all the supplies which had been sent him, had now left a dissolute and odious army to the mercy of the enemy, and to a country more justly incensed, and consequently more merciless, than they. They compared the loss of Waymoth, in the view of his army, and after he had been in the town, and the whole direction in him, with the counter-scuffle at Petherton-bridge, when two of his own parties, pursuing the orders they received, fought with each other, whilst the enemy retired to their own strengths: they remembered the voluntary, wanton, incensing the country; the discountenancing the garrison of Lamport, and dissolving it; the eating the provisions of the rest; the cherishing the Club-men; and the lying with his whole army before Taunton (after he had declared the enemy to be in his mercy within six days) full six weeks, and in that time (pretending that he would in few days starve them) [he] suffered great quantities of provision to be carried into them through his own quarters, and several interviews and private meetings to be by his brother Porter (whose integrity he had before suspected) and the chief officers of the rebels: the neglecting his body of foot during the time that he lay before Taunton, by which he suffered above 2000 to run away. They talked of the beating up his head quarter the day before the rout at Lamport at noon-day, for which no man was ever called to a council of war, and that total rout at Lamport, as two of the most supine and unsoldierly defeats that were ever known; before which, or in those straits, or upon any other occasions of advice, he never called a council of war to

consider what was to be done; and in that last business of 1645
Lamport himself was so far from being present, that, coming in great disorder to Bridgewater, he said he had lost his foot and cannon; which indeed were brought off, entirely by the care and diligence of the lord Wentworth and sir Jo[seph] Wagstaff. They talked of his unheard of negligence of the army after that retreat from Bridgewater, insomuch as of between three and four thousand foot, which himself confessed he had after that business, (and, if his loss had been no greater than he owned, must have been a far greater number,) within sixteen days he had not 1300, nor ever after recovered a man but what was gotten up by the activity and authority of the Prince. Lastly, they remembered his lying in Devonshire from the beginning of July, which was about the time of his retreat from Lamport, to the end of November, when he went to France, (which was five months,) with a body of above 4000 horse, and foot which had been, and by his care might easily have been made, at least equal, destroying and irreconciling the country to the King and the cause, without making the least attempt, or in any degree looking after the enemy; whilst the rebels, by formal sieges, took in the garrisons of Bridgewater, Sherborne, and Bristol, and many other lesser and important holds.

101. And, upon the whole matter, comparing his words and his actions, laying his doing and his not doing together, [they] did conclude, that if he had been confederate with the enemy, and been corrupted to betray the west, he could not have taken a more effectual way to do it; since he had not interest enough by any overt act to have put it into their power; and therefore they who had a greater opinion of his wit, courage, and conduct, than of his conscience and integrity, presumed the failing was in the latter; towards which opinion they were the more inclined by many discourses negligently let fall by the enemy in their quarters, that 'they were sure enough of Goring,' and by sir Tho. Fayrefax applying himself to the taking those strong places after the rout at Lamport, without ever considering or looking after the lord Goring's army, which he could not but know consisted of a body of horse equal in number to his own, and had

1645 reason to apprehend those two populous counties of Devon and Cornwall could quickly recruit the foot; which negligence (said they) he could never be guilty of, (besides that, being unpursued, he [Goring] might easily have made an escape, and joined with the King, and so have diverted all his designs upon the west,) if he had not been well assured that those forces should work them no inconvenience.

102. But others, who were not enough in love with the lord Goring to desire to be joined with him in any trust, clearly in their opinions absolved him from any combination with the enemy or design of treachery, and imputed the slow managing the business at his first coming into the west, and overslipping some opportunities of advantage, to his desire of being settled in that command, and so not making haste, lest, the work being done, he might be necessitated to leave those parts, and be called to the King. For without doubt, though there was a reconcilement made between him and prince Rupert to that degree that all the countenance general Goring received from Court, in prejudice of the Prince's authority and of his council, was procured for him purely by his highness; who in one of his letters to him, at such time as he was before Taunton, used these words; 'What you desire in your letter of the 22nd of May shall be observed; and assure yourself that prince Rupert shall lose his life rather than general Goring shall suffer for prince Rupert, but shall maintain general Goring's honour and power[1];' which letter (as he did any others which he received from his majesty or the secretaries in cipher) he communicated to the company in all his acts of good fellowship; yet, I say, it was very evident he was resolved never to be in the same army with him, under his command; and all his loose and scandalous speeches they imputed to an innate license he hath always given himself; and his gross and unfortunate oversights to the laziness and unactivity in his nature, which could better pursue, and make advantage upon, good successes, than struggle and contend with difficulties and straits. And they who had been nearest the observation found a great difference between the

[1] [*Cal. Clar. S. P.* I. 267.]

presentness of his mind and vivacity in a sudden attempt, 1645
though never so full of danger, and an enterprise that required more deliberation, and that must be attended with patience and a steady circumspection; as if his mind could not be long bent; and therefore he had been observed to give over a game sooner than gamesters that have been thought to have less fire. And many other passages must be attributed to his perfect hatred of all the persons of the council, after he found they would not comply with his desires, and to his particular ambition; and both those passions of ambition and revenge might transport his nature beyond any limits. But what he meant by his discourse at parting to the officers, for the keeping the horse for the service of some foreign prince, was never understood[1], except he did really believe that he should shortly return with a body of foot, and so that they should not be forward to engage with the enemy; or else by the other to keep such a dependence upon him from the officers, that they should always hope for employment under him.

103. Whilst sir Richard Greenevill stayed at Okington he had several strange designs, which he always communicated to the Prince or lords in writing; one of which was, to cut a deep trench from Barstable to the south sea, for the space of near forty miles, by which he said he would defend all Cornwall, and so much of Devon, against the world; and many such impossible undertakings, at which they who understood matters of that nature thought him beside himself. Notwithstanding the train-bands of Cornwall returned to their homes, (having stayed out their month, which was their first contract,) sir Richard Greenevill stayed still at Okington, with his three regiments of old soldiers, having barricadoed the town, and the pass being of very great importance to hinder the enemy from any communication with Plimmoth. And indeed the reputation of his being there with a greater strength than in truth he had at any time, was a great means of keeping the rebels on the east side of Exciter; as appears by their sudden advance as soon as he removed from that post; which he did about the end of November, without

[1] ['was never understood' substituted for 'I cannot understand.']

1645 giving the least advice to the Prince of such his purpose, and contrary to the express desire of the lords Capell and Culpeper, who were then at Exciter, and, hearing of his resolution, had written to him very earnestly not to remove. He suddenly retired with his three regiments from Okington into Cornwall, and quartered his men upon the river Tamar, that divides Cornwall from Devon, with express command to guard the passes, and not to suffer any of the lord Goring's men, upon what pretence or warrant soever, to come into Cornwall. For their better doing whereof, he caused the country to come in to work at the bridges and passes, as he had done before most impertinently for the fortifying of Lanson; and caused proclamations and orders of his own to be read throughout Cornwall in the churches, that if any of the lord Goring's forces (whom in those writings he charged with all the odious reproaches for plundering) should offer to come into Cornwall, they[1] should ring the bells, and thereupon the whole country should rise, and beat them out; by these unheard of and unwarrantable means preparing the country to such a hatred of the lord Goring and his forces that they rather desired the company of the rebels; and so alienated all men's spirits towards the resistance of the enemy: and all this without so much as communication with the Prince till it was executed.

104. About the last week of November he came himself to Truro to the Prince, on the same day that his highness had received letters from the lords at Exciter of the extreme ill consequence of sir R. Greenevill's drawing off from Okington, upon encouragement whereof a strong party of the enemy was come
Nov. 26. to Kirton. Whereupon his highness sent for sir Richard Greenevill, and in council acquainted him with those letters, and other intelligence that he had received of the enemy, and desired him to consider what was now to be done. The next
Nov. 27[2]. day, without attending his highness any more, but returning to his house at Warrington, he writ a long letter to Mr. Fanshaw

[1] ['that they,' MS.]

[2] [Greenville's own paper among the Clar. MSS.; misprinted Nov. 29 in Carte's *Letters*, I. 106. The original paper is somewhat fuller than the printed narrative.]

of his advice, which he desired might be communicated to the lords; which was, that his highness should send to the Parliament for a treaty, and should offer, if he might enjoy the revenue of his duchy of Cornwall, and that they would not advance to disturb him in that county, that he would not attempt any thing upon them, but that they should enjoy the freedom of all the ports in Cornwall for trade, without any disturbance by his majesty's ships: and so, in plain English, to sit still a neuter between the King and the Parliament, at a time when there was a body of horse superior to the enemy, and when an equal proportion of foot might have been gotten together; and when his majesty had not the face of an army in any other part of England. The Prince was very much troubled at this letter, and the more, because he found sir Richard Greenevill had contracted a great friendship with such of his highness' servants as he had reason to believe less zealous and intent upon the honour and prosperity of the King, and because he had discerned he laboured very much to infuse a jealousy into the governor of Pendennis castle that the Prince intended to remove him from that command, and to confer it upon the lord Hopton; to which purpose he had written to him from Okington, (when the lord Hopton and the Chancellor were sent down thither to assist him in the fortifying and supplying that castle; which if they had not been, it could not have held out as it did afterwards,) that the lord Hopton had a commission to take that charge from him; but that he should not suffer such an affront to be put upon him, for he and all his friends would stick to him in it: whereas there was never the least thought or intention to make any alteration in that government. 1645

105. Shortly after that letter of the 27th, sir Richard Greenevill wrote again to Mr. Fanshaw, to know how his propositions were approved; to which, by direction, he returned, that the council had not been yet together since the receipt of it, the lords Capell and Culpeper being not then returned from Exciter, and therefore that it had not been yet debated. He proceeded in his fortifications, and about the middle of December, the Prince continuing at Truro, he sent several letters to the gentlemen of

1645 the county to meet him at Lanson ; one of which letters I saw, to colonel Richard Arrundell, in which he desired him to bring as many gentlemen and others of ability as he could, as well the disaffected as well affected ; for that he intended to communicate to them some propositions which he had formerly preferred to the Prince, and though they were not hearkened to there, he believed would be very acceptable to his countrymen of Cornwall ; but the Prince's sudden going to Tavistock disappointed that meeting.

106. Shortly after the lord Goring's going into France, the Prince, being informed from Exciter that the enemy, at the same time having finished their works which kept them [the city] from any relief on the east side, were now drawing their forces to the west side, whereby that city would be speedily distressed, thought it necessary to send the lords Brayntford, Capell, Hopton, and Culpeper, to confer with the lord Wentworth, (who lay then at Ashburton, six miles from Totness,) and sir Richard Greenevill, who was ready to draw some foot into Devon, to the end that such an understanding might be settled between them two, that the service might proceed : their lordships being directed, by instructions under his highness' hand, upon consideration of the state of the forces, and conference with the lord Wentworth and sir Richard Greenevill, to advise what speedy course should be taken for the relief of Exciter, (the Prince having at the same time disbursed £1000 ready money to two merchants of Exciter for the provision of corn for that city,) presuming that both the one and the other would have been very ready to have received and followed the advice which their lordships should give.

Dec. 16 (?)[1]. 107. The place of meeting was appointed to be Tavistock, where every body was, save the lord Wentworth ; but he failing, the lords, having directed sir Richard Greenevill how to dispose of himself, went themselves to Ashburton, near twenty miles further, to his quarter, where they spent a day or two, but found not that respect from him they had reason to have expected. His lordship was very jealous of diminution in his command, which general Goring had devolved to him, and ex-

[1] [Cf. *Cal. Clar. S. P.*, I. 290.]

pressed himself oftentimes to them, very unnecessarily, that he 1645
would receive orders from none but the Prince himself; whereupon, and upon the importunate calling for relief from Exciter, their lordships thought it absolutely necessary that the Prince himself should advance in person, as well to bring up as great a body of the Cornish as was possible, (which without his presence was not to be hoped,) [as[1]] to dispose the command of the whole forces in such manner as might probably be for the best advantage; the best that was to be hoped for being to bring the enemy to fight a battle, and to be enabled to that purpose by joining with the foot that were in Exciter, which was very hopeful. For the conducting of so great a design, upon which no less than three crowns depended, the lord Wentworth could not be thought of interest, experience, or reputation enough; and yet there was so great regard that he should not suffer in his honour or the imaginary trust devolved to him by general Goring, or rather indeed that no notable hazard might be run by any unnecessary mutation in commands at a time when the soldier was to be led to fight, that it was resolved that he should be rather advised than commanded; and that if he comported himself with that temper and modesty as was expected, all resolutions should be formed in council, and all order thereupon should issue in his own name.

108. The next day after Christmas day, the weather being Dec. 26.
fitter for a fire than a march, the Prince went from Truro to Bodmin, and the next day to Tavistock, where the lords of the council attended; the lord Wentworth continuing at Ashburton, and his horse spread over the country that was at any distance from the enemy. Sir Richard Greenevill, (who attended likewise at Tavistock,) had sent three regiments of foot to Okington under the command of major general Molesworth, which were secured by the brigade of horse under major general Webb, who was quartered near those parts; and the Cornish train-bands were to come up within a week; the block before Plimmoth was maintained by general Digby, with about 1200 or 1300 foot, and 600 horse; but the whole contribution assigned for

[1] ['and,' MS.]

1645 the support of those forces was taken by the lord Wentworth's horse; so that the Prince was compelled to supply those men out of the magazines of victual which he had provided in Cornwall for the army when it should march, and to leave his own guard of horse upon the skirts of Cornwall, there being no quarter to be had for them nearer his own person.

109. Sir Thomas Fayrefax quartered at a house about two miles east of Exciter, sir Hardress Waller with a brigade of his army at Kirton, and another part of the army had possessed Powdram House and the church, Hulford House and some other holds on the west side; so that no provisions went in; and it is said before how long the army under Goring had subsisted upon the provisions within, and kept all supply from entering. The advice taken at Tavistock upon the Prince's coming thither was, that as soon as the Cornish foot should be come up, his highness should march with those, his own guards, and as many foot as might be conveniently taken from Plimmoth, by leaving horse in their place, to Totness; where a magazine should be made of provisions for the whole army, both by money (for which the country would yield great store of provisions) and by victual brought out of Cornwall by sea, for which likewise directions were given: from that place it was concluded that the Prince might join with the forces in Exciter, except the rebels should draw their whole body between them; and then that garrison would be able both to relieve itself and to infest the enemy in the rear, and the Prince might retire or fight, as he found it most convenient and advantageous to him. Resolutions being thus fixed, and the Cornish being not expected in full numbers till the week following, the Prince chose to go to Totness[1], where all things necessary might be agreed with the lord Wentworth, who might conveniently attend there, his quarters being within six miles, and where all directions might be given for making the magazine, towards which money had been returned out of Cornwall.

110. The next day after the Prince came thither the lord

[1] [The words 'go to Totness' are substituted for 'visit the garrison and port of Dartmoth, and in his way to stay at Totness.']

Wentworth attended him, and was informed in council what 1645
had been thought reasonable at Tavistock, the which he approved of: the Prince then called to see a list of the quarters, that thereupon it might be agreed how the whole army should be quartered when they came together; to the which end, the next day, the lord Wentworth brought the quarter-master-general Pinkny, who indeed governed him. At the first council the lord Wentworth told the Prince that he was to declare one thing to him at the entrance into business, and for the prevention of any mistakes, that he could receive no orders from any person but his highness; the lord Goring having reposed that trust in him, and given him a commission and instructions to that purpose; the which he often repeated afterwards in council, and in the debate of quartering talked very imperiously, and very disrespectfully, and one day, (after he had been drinking,) very offensively, to some of the council, in the presence of the Prince. The time was not conceived seasonable for the Prince to declare how the army should be commanded till he had brought it together, and till he had his own guards about him; and so the Prince, though he was nothing satisfied in the lord Wentworth's carriage, only told him, that he would take the command of the army upon himself, and issue out orders as he should think fit; and having visited the port and garrison of Dartmoth, and taken sufficient course for the providing the magazines, and settled the differences about quartering, he returned to Tavistock, resolving with all possible expedition to march with the whole body of foot to Totness, according to former appointment.

111. The day before the Prince began his journey to Tavistock he received a letter from the King his father, dated upon the seventh of November, in these words:

112. 'Oxford, the 7th of November, 1645.

'Charles,

'I leave others to tell you the news of these parts, which are not so ill as, I believe, the rebels would make you believe: that which I think fit to tell you is, I command you, as soon as you find yourself in a probable danger of falling into the rebels' hands, to transport yourself into Denmark; and, upon my blessing, not to stay too long upon uncertain hopes within

1645 this island, in case of danger as above said: for if I mistake not the present condition of the west, you ought not to defer your journey one hour. In this I am not absolutely positive; but I am directly positive that your going beyond sea is absolutely necessary for me, as I do, to command you; and I do not restrain you only to Denmark, but permit you to choose any other country rather than to stay here. As for Scotland and Ireland, I forbid you either, until you shall have perfect assurance that peace be concluded in the one, or that the earl of Montrose in the other be in a very good condition; which, upon my word, he is not now. So God bless you.

'Your loving father,
'Charles R.'

113. Though the intimations in this letter were strong for a present remove, yet not being positive, and the time of the year being such as that the Prince could not be blocked up by sea, and so could choose his own time, and having one county entire, and Exciter and Barstable in the other well garrisoned, besides the block before Plimmoth, and the reputation of an army, the council were of opinion that the time was not yet ripe; and so pursued the former design of joining the Cornish to the horse, and to endeavour the relief of Exciter; for which purpose the Prince undertook the journey before mentioned to Tavistock the day after Christmas day; and at his coming thither received this other letter from the King:

114. 'Oxford, the 7th of December, 1645.

'Charles,

'I wrote to you this day month; of which, few days after, I sent you a duplicate. The causes of my commands to you in that letter are now multiplied. I will name but one, which I am sure is sufficient for what I shall now add to my former. It is this; I have resolved to propose a personal treaty to the rebels at London; in order to which a trumpet is by this time there, to demand a pass for my messengers who are to carry my propositions; which if admitted, as I believe it will, then my real security will be your being in another country, as also a chief argument (which speaks itself[1] without an orator) to make the rebels hearken, and yield to reason. Whereas therefore by my last I left you to judge of the time, I absolutely command you to seek for carefully, and take, the first opportunity of transporting yourself into Denmark, if conveniently you can; but rather than not go out of this kingdom immediately after the receipt of this, I permit and command you to repair to any other country, (as France, Holland, &c.) whereto you may arrive with most convenient security as to your passage; for nothing else is to be feared. I need not

[1] ['itself,' omitted in Edgeman's copy of this book, p. 57.]

recommend to you the leaving the country in the best posture you may, it so speaks itself[1], as I shall always do to be 1645

'Your loving father,

'Charles R.'

115. His highness, (as he used to do,) as soon as he had perused the letter, which, as the rest, was written in the lord Culpeper's cipher, and by him deciphered, delivered it again to his lordship, to be secretly kept and communicated to the other three; for it was by no means safe to trust it yet farther. They were very much troubled at the receipt of this letter, for, (besides that it found them in the article of the most probable design had been on foot since the late disasters to preserve the west,) if they should have attempted to have given obedience to that command, the sudden, unexpected, and unreasonable leaving the army would visibly have declared what the intent had been, and would probably have engaged the people and the soldier, (who would have wanted neither intelligence or instigation from the Prince's own servants, of whom they could not rely upon three men,) being full of hope in the enterprise they were upon, and full of dislike of the other they should have chosen, to have prevented it, towards which they might reasonably have expected assistance from the garrison of Pendennis, from which place his highness was necessarily to remove himself. So that if the Prince attempted to go, and succeeded, the army upon that discountenance must dissolve; and if he succeeded not, there might be a fatal consequence of the endeavour and disappointment. Then, though they had long kept a ship in the harbour in readiness, and at that time had another frigate of Mr. Hasduncke's, yet it had been carried with so much secrecy that very few had taken notice of it, and therefore they could not be provided for so long a voyage as to Denmark, which with so precious a charge would require two months' victual at least. But that which troubled them most was the argument which his majesty was pleased to use for his so positive command, which to their understanding seemed to conclude that his highness' transportation (at least without an immediate impulsion of necessity) was at that time most unseasonable: for

[1] ['the self' for 'itself' in Edgeman's copy.]

1645 if in expectation of a treaty his majesty should venture his royal person in London, and should be received there, and at the same time his highness' person should be transported out of the kingdom by his majesty's own command, (which could not then have been concealed,) it was reasonable to believe that not only the rebels would make great advantage of it, as an argument against his majesty's sincere intentions, and thereby draw unspeakable and irreparable prejudice upon him, but that his own Council, by which he was disposed to that overture, and whose assistance he must constantly use, would take themselves to be so highly disobliged by that act [as [1]] they would lose all confidence in their future counsels.

116. Upon the whole matter, they were unanimously of opinion that the relief of Exciter was to proceed in the manner formerly agreed, and that the Prince's person was to be present at it: and thereupon they sent an express to the King, with a dispatch signed by the four who were trusted, (a duplicate whereof was sent by another express the next day,) in which they presented a clear state to his majesty of his forces, and the hopes they then had of improving their condition by the Prince's presence; of the condition of Exciter, and of the strength, as they conceived, of the enemy: of the inconveniency, if not impossibility, of obeying his majesty at that time. They informed his majesty of the great indisposition that they perceived in all the servants towards his highness's leaving the kingdom, and that the jealousy was so great of France that they had reason to believe that many who were very faithful, and tender of his safety, would rather wish him in the hands of the enemy than in that kingdom; and therefore when the article of necessity should come, (which they assured him they would with any hazard watch and observe,) they must profess the continuing still within his own dominions, and so waft him to Silly or Jarsy, and from thence conclude what was to be done farther. They presented likewise their humble opinion to him, that in case he should be engaged in a personal treaty at London, (which they conceived the rebels would never admit without such acts first

[1] ['and,' MS.]

obtained from his majesty as might invalidate his power and confirm theirs,) how inconvenient it might be without the privity of those counsellors whom he was then to trust to transport the Prince, except in danger of surprisal, before the issue of that treaty might be discerned; assuring his majesty, that nothing should put his highness's person into the hands of the Parliament but his majesty's own commands, which they should not resist in his own dominions, nor they conceived any body else if he were out of them. 1645

117. The appearance at Tavistock answered the expectation; there being full 2400 of the train-bands, very cheerful, and ready to march; at Okington were 800 old soldiers, under major general Molesworth; the foot with the lord Wentworth were given out to be 800, with the lord Goring's guards which were in Dartmoth, and to be drawn thence upon the advance to the army: from Barstable the governor had promised to send 500 men; and out of Exciter, at the least, 1500 were promised: all which, with his highness's guards, might well be depended upon for 6000 foot. The horse was very little fewer than 5000, whereof his highness's guards made near 700; so that if all these could have been brought to fight the day seemed not desperate. The foot were appointed to have marched the morrow, when the news came that the enemy was advanced, and had beaten up the lord Wentworth's quarters in two several places; and shortly after the news, the lord Wentworth himself came in, in great disorder, not informed of the particulars of his loss, but conceived it to be greater than in truth it was, though many men, and more horses, were taken in both places. The Prince was very desirous to pursue the former resolution, and to have advanced with the whole body to Totness; but the lord Wentworth did not only allege that probably the enemy was possessed by that time of Totness, but that in truth he had no hope to rally his horse together, in any numbers, till they might be allowed three or four days' rest; whereas all that rout had been occasioned by small parties of the enemy, who at daytime came into their quarters, and found no guards, but all the horse in the stables; and their gross moved not in 1646 Jan. 9.

1645 two or three days after, encouraged, it was thought, by the great disorder they found those troops to be in. Matters standing thus, and it being absolutely necessary, by reason of this disorderly retreat of the horse, to draw off the block from Plimmoth, Tavistock was no longer thought a place for the Prince's residence. His highness, by the advice of a council of war, removed to Lanson; whither all the foot were drawn, and the horse appointed to keep the Devonshire side of the river; and from thence he hoped he should be speedily able to advance towards Exciter.

118. The King had stayed at Hereford in great perplexity and irresolution, not knowing which way to take, but most inclined to go to Worcester, till he was assured that the whole strength of the Parliament in the north was gathered together under the command of Pointze, and that he was already come between Hereford and Worcester with a body of above three thousand horse and dragoons, with which he was appointed always to attend the King's motion: so that it would be very hard for his majesty to get to Worcester, whither his purpose of going was, upon the new resolution he had taken again to march into Scotland to join with Mountrose, who was yet understood to be prosperous. And this being the only design, it was not thought reasonable to prosecute that march by Worcester, and thereby to run the hazard of an engagement with Pointze, but rather to take a more secure passage through North Wales to Chester, and thence through Lancashire and Cumberland to find a passage into Scotland, unobstructed by any enemy that could oppose them. This counsel pleased; and within four days, though through very unpleasant ways, the King came within half a day's journey of Chester; which he found in more danger than he expected or suspected; for, within three days before, the enemy, out of their neighbour garrisons, had surprised both the outworks and suburbs of Chester, and had made some attempt upon the city, to the great terror and consternation of those within, who had been without apprehension of such a surprise. So that this unexpected coming of his majesty looked like a designation of Providence for the preservation of so important a place: and the besiegers were no less amazed,

looking upon themselves as lost, and the King's troops believed 1645
them to be in their power.

119. Sir Marmaduke Langdale was sent with most of the horse over Holt-bridge, that he might be on the east side of the river Dee; and the King, with his guards, the lord Gerard, and Sept. 23.
the rest of the horse, marched directly into Chester; with a resolution that early the day following sir Marmaduke Langdale should have fallen upon their backs, when all the force of the town should have sallied out, and so enclosed them. But sir Marmaduke Langdale, being that night drawn on a heath two miles from Chester, had intercepted a letter from Pointze (who had marched a much shorter way after he was informed which way the King was bound) to the commander that was before Chester, telling him that he was come to their rescue, and desiring to have some foot sent to him, to assist him against the King's horse: and the next morning he appeared, and was Sept. 24.
charged by sir Marmaduke Langdale, and forced to retire with loss, but kept still at such a distance that the foot from Chester might come to him. The besiegers began to draw out of the suburbs in such haste that it was believed in Chester that they were upon their flight; and so most of the horse and foot in the town had order to pursue them; but their haste was to join with Pointze, which they quickly did, and then they charged sir Marmaduke Langdale, who, being overpowered, was routed and put to flight, and pursued by Pointze even to the walls of Chester. There the earl of Litchfield with the King's guards, and the lord Gerard with the rest of the horse, were drawn up, and charged Pointze, and forced him to retire. But the disorder of those horse which first fled had so filled the narrow ways, which were so unfit for horse to fight upon, that at last the enemy's musketeers compelled the King's horse to turn, and to rout one another, and to overbear their own officers who would have restrained them. Here fell many gentlemen and officers of name, with the brave earl of Litchfield, who was the third brother of that illustrious family that sacrificed his life in this quarrel. He was a very faultless young man, of a most gentle, courteous, and affable nature, and of a spirit and courage

1645 invincible; who[se] loss all men exceedingly lamented, and the King bore it with extraordinary grief. There were many persons of quality taken prisoners; amongst whom sir Philip Musgrave, a gentleman of a noble extraction, and ample fortune in Cumberland and Westmoreland, lived to engage himself again in the same service, and with the same affection, and, after very great sufferings, to see the King restored. This defeat broke all the body of horse which had attended the King from the battle of Naseby, and which now fled over all the country to save themselves, and were as much dispersed as the greatest rout could produce.

120. The design of marching northward was now at an end; and it was well it was so; for about this very time Mountrose was defeated by David Lashly; so that if the King had advanced farther, as he resolved to have done the very next day after he came to Chester, he could never have been able to have retreated. He stayed in Chester only one night after this blow, but returned, by the same way by which he had come, to Den-
Sept. 25. bigh Castle in North Wales, being attended only with five hundred horse; and there he stayed three days to refresh himself, and to rally such of his troops as had stayed within any distance. And there he stayed till his broken troops were rallied again, so that he had in view four and twenty hundred horse; but whither to go with them was still the difficult question. Some proposed the isle of Anglesy as a place of safety, and an island fruitful enough to support his forces, and which would defend itself against any winter attempt, and from whence he might be easily transported into Ireland or Scotland. They who objected against this, as very many objections might well be made, proposed that his majesty might commodiously make his winter quarters at Worcester, and by quartering his troops upon the Severn, between Bridgenorth and Worcester, stand there upon his guard, and by the access of some other forces might be able to fight with Pointze; who, by this time, that he might both be able the more to straiten Chester, and to watch the King's motion, had drawn his troops over the river Dee into Denbighshire; so that he was now nearer the King, and made the march

proposed much the more difficult; but there was so little choice, 1645
that it was prosecuted with good success; and there being another bridge to pass the Dee some miles farther, and through as ill ways as those counties are supplied with, he went over without any opposition; and had by this means left Pointze a full day's journey behind. And here prince Morrice waited upon Sept. 28.
his majesty with eight hundred horse, part whereof was of prince Rupert's regiment that came out of Bristol. And now, being so much stronger, they less feared the enemy, yet continued their march without resting, till, by fording the Severn, Sept. 30.
they came to Bridgenorth, the place designed. And now every body expected that they should forthwith go to Worcester, and take up their winter quarters. But then, upon the news of the surrender of Berkely Castle in Glostershire, and of the Devizes Sept. 26.
in Wiltshire, (two strong garrisons of the King's,) it was urged Sept. 23.
that Worcester would not be a good place for the King's winter residence, and Newark was proposed as a place of more security. And this advice was the more like to be embraced, because it was vehemently pursued upon a private and particular interest.

121. Though prince Rupert had submitted to the King's pleasure in resigning his commission, yet he resolved not to make use of his pass, and to quit the kingdom, till he might first see his majesty, and give an account of the reasons which obliged him to deliver up Bristol; and was ready to begin his journey towards him as soon as he could be informed where the King intended to rest. The lord Digby, who had then the chief influence upon his majesty's councils, and was generally believed to be the sole cause of revoking the prince his commission, and of the order sent to him to leave the kingdom without being heard what he could say for himself, found that the odium of all this proceeding fell upon him; and therefore, to prevent the breaking that cloud upon him which threatened his ruin, for he had not only the fury of prince Rupert and all his party to contend with, but the extreme malice of the lord Gerard, who used to hate heartily upon a sudden accident, without knowing why:—over and above this, as prince Rupert would have an easy

1645 journey to Worcester, so prince Morrice was governor there, who had a very tender sense of the severity his brother had undergone, and was ready to revenge it, whereas if the King went to Newark, the journey from Oxford thither would be much more difficult, and prince Morrice would be without any authority there:—these reasons were motives enough to him to be very solicitous to divert the King from Worcester and to incline him to Newark; and his credit was so great, that, against the opinion of every other man, the King resolved to take that course; and so, having stayed only one day at Bridgenorth, and from thence sent sir Thomas Glemham to receive the govern-
Oct. 2. ment of Oxford, made haste to Litchfield, and then passed with
Oct. 4. that speed to Newark that he was there as soon as the governor had notice of his purpose. And in this manner, in the greatest perplexity of his own affairs, was his majesty compelled to condescend to the particular and private passions of other men.

122. When the King came to Newark, he betook himself to the regulating the very great disorders of that garrison; which, by their great luxury and excesses, in a time of so general calamity, had given great scandal to the commissioners and to all the country. The garrison consisted of about two thousand horse and foot; and to those there were about four and twenty colonels and general officers, who had all liberal assignments out of the contributions, according to their qualities; so that though that small county paid more contribution than any other in England, there was very little left to pay the common soldiers or to provide for any other expenses. This made so great a noise that the King found it absolutely necessary to reform it, and so reduced some of the officers entirely, and lessened the pay of others; which added to and increased the number of the discontented people, which was very much too numerous before. And now reports were spread abroad with great confidence, and the advertisement sent from several places, though no author named, that Mountrose after his defeat, by an access of those troops which were then absent, had fought again with David Lashly, and totally defeated him, and that he was marched towards the borders with a strong army. This news,

how groundless soever, was so very good that it was easily be- 1645
lieved, and believed to that degree that the King himself declared a resolution, the third time, to advance and join with Mountrose; and the lord Digby (who knew that prince Rupert was already upon his way from Oxford, and that prince Morrice had Oct 8.
met him at Banbury) prevailed so far, that the King resolved that without delay, or expecting any confirmation of the report, he would move northward to meet the news, and if it fell not out to his wish he would return to Newark. And in this resolution, after a week's stay at Newark, he marched to Tuxford, Oct. 12.
and the next day to Wellbeck, having in his way met with the Oct. 13.
same general reports of Mountrose's victories, which were interpreted as so many confirmations; and therefore, though the King assembled his council to consult at Wellbeck, he declared that he would not have it debated whether he should advance or retire, but the manner of his advancing, since he was resolved not to retire, which he was assured would be attended with more mischieve than could accompany his advancing.

123. This declaration, how disagreeable soever it was to the sense of much the major part, left very little to be consulted upon; for since they must advance, it was easily agreed that they should march the next day to Rotheram, and that the army should be drawn to a rendezvous the next morning at such an hour; and so the officers rose to give orders out for the execution of what was resolved; when, in the instant, one knocked at the door, and, being called in, was the trumpeter who had been formerly sent from Cardiff to the Scots' army with a letter to the earl of Leven, general thereof, who had taken him with him as far as Berwick before he would suffer him to be discharged. The King asked him what he had heard of the marquis of Mountrose. He answered that the last news he had heard of him was, that he was about Sterling, retiring farther north; and that David Lashly was in Lothian, on this side Edenborough; and that the Scots' army lay between North-Allerton and Newcastle. This so unexpected relation dashed the former purpose; and the lord Digby himself declared that it was by no means fit for his majesty to advance, but to retire presently to

1645 Newark; which was by every body agreed to; and the rendezvous of the army for the next morning to continue. When they were at the rendezvous, the King declared that though it was not judged fit for himself to advance northward, yet he thought it very necessary that sir Marmaduke Langdale should, with the horse under his command, march that way, and endeavour to join with Mountrose. And having said so, his majesty looked upon sir Marmaduke, who very cheerfully submitted to his majesty's pleasure, and said, that he had only one suit to make to his majesty, which was, that the lord Digby might command in chief, and he under him. All who were present stood amazed at all that had been said, of which no word had passed in council; but when the lord Digby as frankly accepted the command, they concluded that it had been concerted before between the King and the other two.

124. No man contradicted any thing that was proposed; and so immediately upon the place a short commission was prepared, and signed by the King, to constitute the lord Digby lieutenant general of all the forces raised or to be raised for the King on the other side of Trent; and with this commission he immediately departed from the King, taking with him from the rendezvous all the northern horse, with sir Marmaduke Langdale, and sir Richard Hutton, high sheriff of Yorkshire, together with the earls of Carnewarth and Neddesdale, and several other Scots' gentlemen: he marched in the head of fifteen hundred horse, and so in a moment became a general as well as Secretary of State, and marched presently to Doncaster.

125. Because this expedition was in a short time at an end, it will not be amiss to [finish] the relation in this place, there being no occasion to resume it hereafter. The lord Digby was
Oct. 14. informed, at his being at Doncaster, that there was, in a town two or three miles distant, and little out of the way of his next day's march, one thousand foot newly raised for the Parliament; which he resolved the next morning to fall upon, and did it so well, that they all threw down their arms, and dispersed;
Oct. 15. whereupon he prosecuted his march to a town called Sherborne, where he stayed to refresh his troops; and whilst he stayed

there, he had notice of the advance of some troops of horse towards him, under the command of colonel Coply. Digby presently sounded to horse, and having gotten some few troops ready, he marched with those out of the town; and finding Coply standing upon a convenient ground, he would not stay for his other companies, but immediately charged them, with that courage that he routed most of their bodies; which, after a short resistance, fled, and were pursued by his horse through Sherborne, where the other troops were refreshing themselves; who, discerning the flight of horse in great consternation, concluded that they were their own fellows, who had been routed by the enemy, and so with equal confusion they mounted their horses, and fled as fast as the other, and such ways as they severally conceived to be most for their safety. And by this means, a troop that remained upon the field, unbroken fell upon the lord Digby, and those officers and gentlemen who remained about him, and who had not pursued those who fled too far; who were compelled to make their retreat to Skipton; which they did with the loss of sir Richard Hutton, (a gallant and worthy gentleman, and the son and heir of a very venerable judge, who was a man famous in his generation,) and two or three other persons, and with the loss of his baggage, in which was his cabinet of papers; which, being published by the Parliament, administered afterwards so much occasion of discourse. 1645

126. At Skipton most of the scattered troops came together again, with which he marched without any other misadventures through Cumberland and Westmoreland, as far as Dumfreeze in Scotland; and then, neither receiving directions which way to march, nor where Mountrose was, and less knowing how to retire without falling into the hands of the Scots' army upon the borders, in the highest despair[1] the lord Digby, with sir Marmaduke Langdale, the two earls, and most of the other officers, embarked themselves for the Isle of Man, and shortly after for Ireland; where we shall leave them, all the troops being left by them to shift for themselves. And thus those fifteen hundred horse which marched northward from that rendezvous Oct. 17. Oct. 19. Oct. 21.

[1] ['so that in the highest despair,' MS.]

1645 within very few days were brought to nothing, and the generalship of the lord Digby to an end. But if it had not been for that extraordinary and unusual accident, of the flying of his own troops because the enemy fled, (as the greatest misfortunes which befell that noble person throughout the whole course of his life usually fell out in a conjuncture when he had attained to what he could wish,) he had without doubt been master of York and of the whole north; the Parliament having no other forces in all those parts, (their garrisons excepted,) than those foot which he first defeated, and those horses which he had so near broken. And the temper and composition of his mind was so admirable, that he was always more pleased and delighted that he had advanced so far, which he imputed to his virtue and conduct, than broken or dejected that his success was not answerable, which he still charged upon second causes, for which he could not be accountable.

127. When the lord Digby and sir Marmaduke Langdale left
Oct. 14. the King, his majesty marched back to Newark, with eight hundred horse of his own guards and the troops belonging to the lord Gerard; and quickly heard of the misfortune that befell the northern adventurers; upon which he concluded that it would not be safe for him to stay longer in the place where he was; for by this time Pointze was come with all his troops to Nottingham, and Rossiter with all the force of Lincolnshire to Grantham; and all the power his majesty had was not in any degree strong enough to oppose either of them; so that he was only to watch an opportunity, by the darkness of the nights and good guides, to steal from them to Worcester or Oxford; in either of which he could only expect a little more time and leisure to consider what was more to be done.

128. But before he can leave Newark, he must undergo a new kind of mortification from his friends, much sharper than any he had undergone from his enemies, and which without doubt he tolerated with much more grief and perplexity of mind. Prince Rupert was now come to Belvoir[1] Castle, with his

[1] [Hyde sometimes writes this name as *Belvoir*, generally as *Belvour*, but occasionally as *Beavour*.]

brother prince Morrice, and about one hundred and twenty officers who attended him; with which he had sustained a charge from Rossiter, and broke through without any considerable loss. When the King heard of his being so near, he writ a letter to him, by which he required him to stay at Belvoir till further order, and reprehended him for not having given obedience to his former command. Notwithstanding this command, he came the next day to Newark, and was met by the lord Gerard and sir Richard Willis, governor of the town, with one hundred horse, two miles in his way; and about an hour after, with this train, he came to the Court, and found the King in the presence, and without any ceremony told his majesty that he was come to render an account of the loss of Bristol, and to clear himself from those imputations which had been cast upon him. The King said very little to him; but meat being brought up, he went to supper, and during that time asked some questions of prince Morrice, without saying any thing to the other. And after he had supped he retired to his chamber, without admitting any farther discourse; and the prince returned to the governor's house, where he was well treated and lodged. The King, how displeased soever, thought it necessary to hear what prince Rupert would say, that he might with the more ease provide for his own escape from thence; which it was high time to make; and so he appointed the next day to hear his defence, which the prince made, with many protestations of his innocence, and how impossible it was long to defend the fort after the line was entered. His majesty did not suspect his nephew to have any malicious design against his service, and had no mind to aggravate any circumstances which had accompanied that action; and therefore, after a day or two's debate, caused a short declaration to be drawn up, by which prince Rupert was absolved and cleared from any disloyalty or treason in the rendering of Bristol, but not of indiscretion. And so that matter was settled; upon which the King expected the prince should have departed, as himself resolved to prosecute the means for his own escape without communicating it to him; and by the change of the posture of the enemy, by Pointze his coming

1645 Oct. 15. Oct. 21.

1645 to the north side of Trent, which made him resolve to begin his march on the Sunday night, being the twentieth of October; which he imparted to none but two or three of the nearest trust.

129. But the differences were grown so high between the governor and the commissioners, (who were all the principal gentlemen of the country, and who had with all courage and fidelity adhered to the King from the beginning, and whose interest alone had preserved that place,) and had been so much improved by the mutual contests which had been between them in the presence of the King, that there was no possibility of reconciling them, and very little of preserving the garrison but by the removal of the governor; which was so evident to the King that he resolved upon that expedient; and on the Sunday morning sent for sir Richard Willis into his bedchamber, and after very many gracious expressions of the satisfaction he had received in his service, and of the great abilities he had to serve him, he told him his own design to be gone that night, and that he resolved to take him with him, and to make him captain of his horse guards, in the place of the earl of Litchfield, who had been lately killed before Chester, (which was a command equal to any subject); and that he would leave the lord Bellasis governor of Newark, who, being allied to most of the gentlemen of the adjacent counties, and having a good estate there, would be more acceptable to them. And his majesty condescended so far as to tell him, that he did not hereby give a judgment on the commissioners' side, who he declared had been to blame in many particulars, and that he could not have an ampler vindication than by the honour and trust he now conferred upon him: but he found it would be much easier to remove him than to reform the commissioners, who, being many, could not be any other way united in his service.

130. Sir Richard Willis appeared very much troubled; and excused the not taking the other command, as a place of too great honour, and that his fortune could not maintain him in that employment: he said, that his enemies would triumph at his removal, and he should be looked upon as cast out and disgraced. The King replied that he would take care and provide

for his support, and that he could not be looked upon as dis- 1645
graced who was placed so near his person, which, he told him, he would find to be true when he had thought a little of it. And so his majesty went out of his chamber, and presently to the church. When he returned from thence, he sat down to dinner; the lords and other of his servants retiring to their lodgings on the same business. Before the King had dined sir Richard Willis, with both the princes, the lord Gerard, and about twenty officers of the garrison, entered into the presence-chamber: and Willis addressed himself to the King, and told him that what his majesty had said to him in private was now the public talk of the town, and very much to his dishonour: prince Rupert said, that sir Richard Willis was to be removed from his government for no fault that he had committed but for being his friend: the lord Gerard added, that it was the plot of the lord Digby, who was a traitor, and he would prove him to be so. The King was so surprised with this manner of behaviour that he rose in some disorder from the table, and would have gone into his bedchamber, calling sir Richard Willis to follow him; who answered aloud, that he had received a public injury, and therefore that he expected a public satisfaction. This, with what had passed, so provoked his majesty, that, with greater indignation than he was ever seen possessed with, he commanded them to depart from his presence, and to come no more into it; and this with such circumstances in his looks and gesture as well as words that they appeared no less confounded, and departed the room, ashamed of what they had done; and yet, as soon as they came to the governor's house, they sounded to horse, intending to be presently gone.

131. The noise of this unheard of insolence quickly brought the lords who were absent and all the gentlemen who were in the town to the King, with expressions full of duty, and a very tender sense of the usage he had endured. And there is no doubt he could have proceeded in what manner he would against the offenders. But his majesty thought it best, in many considerations, to leave them to themselves, and to be punished by their own reflections; and presently declared the lord Bellasis

1645 to be governor; who immediately betook himself to his charge, and placed the guards in such a manner as he thought reasonable. In the afternoon, a petition and remonstrance was brought to the King, signed by the two princes, and about four and twenty officers, in which they desired that sir Richard Willis might receive a trial by a court of war, and if they found him faulty, then to be dismissed from his charge; and that if this might not be granted, they desired passes for themselves and as many horse as desired to go with them; and withal, they said they hoped that his majesty would not look upon this action of theirs as a mutiny. To the last, the King said he would not now christen it, but it looked very like one. As for the court of war, he would not make that a judge of his actions; but for the passes, they should be immediately prepared for as many as desired to have [them[1].] And the next morning the passes were sent to them; and in the afternoon they left the town, being in all about two hundred horse, and went to Wyverton, a small garrison depending upon Newark, where they stayed some days, and from thence they went to Belvoir Castle;
Oct. 29. from whence[2] they sent one of their number to the Parliament, to desire leave and passes to go beyond the seas.

132. Besides the exceeding trouble and vexation that this action of his nephews, towards whom he had always expressed such tenderness and indulgence, gave the King, it broke the design he had for his present escape; which was not possible to be executed in that time; and Pointze and Rossiter drew every day nearer, and believed they had so encompassed him round that it was not possible for him to get out of their hands.
Nov. 3. They had now besieged Shelford House, a garrison belonging to Newark, and kept strong guards between that and Belvoir, and stronger towards Litchfield, which was the way they most suspected his majesty to incline to; so that the truth is, nothing but Providence could conduct him out of that labyrinth. But

[1] ['it,' MS.]

[2] [From Wyverton, or Werton, not from Belvoir, lieut. col. Osborne was sent for the pass. A copy of prince Rupert's letter (as well as of a previous one to col. Poyntz on 27 Oct.) is among the Clarendon MSS.]

the King gave not himself over. He had fixed now his resolu- 1645
tion for Oxford, and sent a trusty messenger thither with directions that the horse of that garrison should be ready, upon a day he appointed, between Banbury and Daventry. And then, upon Monday the third of November, early in the morning, he Nov. 3.
sent a gentleman to Belvoir Castle, to be informed of the true state of the rebels' quarters, and to advertise sir Gervase Lucas, the governor of that garrison, of his majesty's design to march thither that night, with order that his troops and guides should be ready at such an hour; but with an express charge that he should not acquaint the princes, or any of their company, with it. And that gentleman being returned with very particular information, the resolution was taken to march that very night, but not published till an hour after the shutting the ports. And then order was given that all should be ready in the market place at ten of the clock; and by that time the horse were all there, and were in number between four and five hundred, of the guards and of other loose regiments; they were all there put in order, and every man was placed in some troop; which done, about eleven of the clock they began to march; the King himself in the head of his own troop marched in the middle of the whole body. By three of the clock in the morning they were at Belvoir, without the least interruption or Nov. 4.
alarum given. There sir Gervase Lucas and his troop, with good guides, were ready, and attended his majesty till the break of day, by which time he was past those quarters which he most apprehended, but he was still to march between their garrisons; and therefore made no delay, but marched all that day, and passed near Burleigh-upon-the-Hill, a garrison of the enemy, from whence some horse waited upon the rear, and took and killed some men who either negligently stayed behind or whose horse were tired. Towards the evening the King was so very weary and tired, that he was even compelled to rest and sleep for the space of four hours in a village within eight miles of Northampton[1]. At ten of the clock that night they began to march again, and were before day the next morning past Daventry, and

[1] ['Codsbury' (Gutch's *Collect. Cur.* ii. 447), *i.e.* Cottesbrooke.]

1645 Nov. 5. before noon came to Banbury, where the Oxford horse were ready, and waited upon his majesty, and conducted him safe to Oxford that day. And so he finished the most tedious and grievous march that ever king was exercised in, having been almost in perpetual motion from the loss of the battle at Naseby to this hour, with such variety of dismal accidents as must have broken the spirits of any man who had not been the most magnanimous person in the world. At Oxford the King found himself at rest and ease, to revolve and reflect upon what was past, and to advise and consult of what was to be done, with persons of entire devotion to him and of steady judgments; and presently after his coming thither, he writ that letter of the seventh of November, and, shortly after, the other of the seventh of December; both §§112,114. which are mentioned before, and set down at large.

133. The Prince [of Wales] did not enjoy so much rest and ease in his quarters; for, upon the hurry of the retreat of the § 117. horse, which is mentioned before, and which indeed was full of confusion, very many of the train-bands of Cornwall broke loose, and run to their houses, pretending that they feared that the horse would go into that county and plunder them; for which fear they had the greater pretence, because upon the retreat many regiments had order from the lord Wentworth to quarter in Cornwall; of which his highness was no sooner advertised, than he sent his orders positive, that no one regiment of horse should be there, but that they should be all quartered on the Devon side. And upon that, they were dispersed about the county, for the space of thirty miles' breadth, as if no enemy had been within two days' march of them. There were now drawn together, and to be engaged together in one action against the enemy, all the horse and foot of the lord Goring (the command whereof the lord Wentworth challenged to himself by deputation), the horse and foot of sir Richard Greenevill, [and] the horse and foot of general Digby, neither of which acknowledged a superiority in the other; besides the guards, which nobody pretended to command but the lord Capell. When the Prince removed from Tavistock, the raising the block from Plimmoth was absolutely necessary; and it was concluded,

as hath been said, at a council of war, that it would be fit for his highness to remove to Lanson, whither the train-bands and the rest of the foot should likewise come, and the horse march on the Devonshire side, and quarter most conveniently in that county. The care of the retreat, and bringing the provisions from Tavistock, was committed to sir Richard Greenevill; which was performed by him so negligently, that, besides the disorders which he suffered in Tavistock by the soldiers, a great part of the magazine of victuals and three or four hundred pair of shoes were left there, and so lost. The day after the Prince came to Lanson, sir Richard Greenevill writ a letter to him [1], wherein he presented the impossibility of keeping that army together, or fighting with it, in the condition it was then in; told him, that he had the night before sent directions to major general Harris, (who commanded the foot that came from Plimmoth,) to guard such a bridge; that he returned him word, that he would receive orders from none but general Digby; that general Digby said, he would receive orders from none but his highness; that a party of the lord Wentworth's horse had the same night come into the quarters where his troop of guards and his firelocks were; that neither submitting to the command of the other, they had fallen foul, and two or three men had been killed, and that they continued still in the same place, drawn up one against the other; that it was absolutely necessary that his highness should constitute one superior officer, from whom all those independent officers might receive orders, without which it would not be possible for that army to be kept together or do service; that for his own part, he knew his severity and discipline to have rendered him so odious to the lord Goring's horse, that they would sooner choose to serve the enemy than receive orders from him; and therefore he desired his highness to constitute the earl of Brayneford or the lord

1646 § 117.

Jan. 16.

[1] ['from Warrington, about a mile from the town,' *struck out.* But the original letter, among the Clar. MSS., is dated 'Worrington.' Clarendon's quotations from the words 'told him' to 'against the other' are from another letter of the following day. The first letter is to the lords of the Prince's council, the second to Fanshawe.]

1646 Hopton to command in chief, and then he hoped some good might be done against the enemy.

134. The mischieve was more visible by much than a remedy. It was evident some action must be with the enemy within few days, and what inconvenience would flow from any alteration at such a conjuncture of time was not hard to guess, when both officer and soldier was desirous to take any occasion and to find any excuse to lay down his arms; and it was plain, though there were very few could do good, there were enough that could do hurt; besides, whoever was fit to undertake so great a trust and charge, would be very hardly entreated to take upon him the command of a dissolute, undisciplined, wicked, beaten army, upon which he must engage his honour, and the hope of what was left, without having time to reform or instruct them. That which made the resolution easy was, that, though there was little hope of doing good by any alteration in command, there was evident and demonstrable ruin attended no alteration; and they who were trusted might be accountable to the world for not advising the Prince to do that which, how hopeless soever, only remained to be done.

Jan. 15. 135. And thereupon, on the 15th of January, his highness made an order that the lord Hopton should take the charge of the whole army upon him, and that lord Wentworth should command all the horse, and sir Richard Greenevill the foot: I confess a heavy imposition upon the lord Hopton, (to the which nothing but the most abstracted duty and obedience could have submitted,) to take charge of those horse whom only their friends feared, and their enemies laughed at; being only terrible in plunder, and resolute in running away. Of all the train-bands of Cornwall, there were not 300 left; and those, by some infusions from Greenevill and others, not so devoted to him as might have been expected: the rest of the foot (besides those who belonged to the lord Goring, which were two regiments of about 400) being the three regiments, of about 600, which belonged to sir Richard Greenevill, and the officers of them entirely his creatures, and those belonging to general Digby, which were not above 500; to these were added (and were indeed the

only men, except a small troop of his own under col. Rovill of horse and foot, upon whose affection, courage, and duty he could rely; except some particular gentlemen, who could only undertake for themselves) about 250 foot, and 800 horse, of the guards, who were commanded by the lord Capell, [and] entirely to receive orders from his lordship. The lord Capell, to encourage him to undertake that melancholy charge, promised to accompany him throughout the expedition, as he nobly did. 1646

136. The lord Hopton very generously told the Prince, that it was a custom now, when men were not willing to submit to what they were enjoined, to say that it was against their honour; that their honour would not suffer them to do this or that: for his part, he could not obey his highness at this time without resolving to lose his honour, which he knew he must; but since his highness thought it necessary to command him, he was ready to obey him with the loss of his honour. Since the making of this order was concluded an act of absolute necessity, and the lord Hopton had so worthily submitted to it, it was positively resolved by his highness that it should be dutifully submitted to by all other men, or that the refusers should be exemplarily punished. There was not the least suspicion that sir Richard Greenevill would not willingly have submitted to it; but it was believed that the lord Wentworth, who had carried himself so high, and more insolently since his disorderly retreat than before, would have refused; which if he had done, it was resolved by the Prince presently to have committed him, and to have desired the lord Capell to have taken the charge of the horse.

137. His highness sent sir Richard Greenevill a letter of thanks for the advice which he had given, and which, he said, he had followed, as by the enclosed order he might perceive, by which his highness had committed the care and charge of the whole army to the Lord Hopton, appointing that the lord Wentworth should command all the horse, and sir Richard Greenevill all the foot, and both to receive orders from the lord Hopton: no man imagining it possible that, (besides that he had given the advice,) he could have refused that charge, by which he was to have a greater command than ever he had Jan. 16.

1646 before, and was to be commanded by none but by whom he had often been formerly commanded. But the next day after he received [1] that letter and order, contrary to all expectation, he writ to his highness to desire to be excused, in respect of his indisposition of health; and expressing that he could do him better service in getting up the soldiers who straggled in the county, and in suppressing malignants; and at the same time writ to the lord Culpeper, that he could not consent to be commanded by the lord Hopton. It plainly appeared now that his drift was to stay behind, and command Cornwall, with which, considering the premises, the Prince thought he had no reason to trust him. He sent for him therefore, and told him the extreme ill consequence that would attend the public service if he should then, and in such manner, quit the charge his highness had committed to him; that more should not be expected from him than was agreeable to his health; and that if he took the command upon him, he should take what adjutants he pleased to assist him. But notwithstanding all that the Prince could say to him, or such of his friends who thought they had interest in him, he continued obstinate, and positively refused to take the charge, or to receive orders from the lord Hopton.

138. What should the Prince have done? For, besides the ill consequence of suffering himself to be in that manner contemned, at a time when the whole army was so indisposed, it was very evident, if he were at liberty, and the army marched out of Cornwall, he would have put himself in the head of all the discontented party, and at least endeavoured to have hindered their retreat back into Cornwall, upon what occasion soever; and for the present, that he would underhand have kept many from marching with the army, upon the senseless pretence of defending their own country. So that, upon full
Jan. 19. consideration, his highness thought fit to commit him to prison to the governor of Lanson, and within two or three days after
Jan. 21. sent him to the Mount; where he remained till the enemy was possessed of the country, when his highness, (that he might by

[1] [He received the order on Jan. 17 (*orig. MS.*), not Jan. 15 as in Carte's *Letters*, i. 107.]

no means fall into their hands,) gave him leave to transport 1646
himself beyond the seas.

139. The lord Wentworth, though he seemed much surprised with the order when he heard it read at the Board, and desired time to consider of it till the next day, that he might confer with his officers, yet, when the Prince told him that he would not refer his acts to be scanned by the officers, but that he should give his positive answer whether he would submit to it, or no, and then he knew what he had to do, he only desired to consider till the afternoon; and then he submitted, and went that night out of town to his quarters; of which most men were not glad, but rather wished (since they knew he would never obey cheerfully) that he would have put the Prince to have made further alterations; which yet would have been accompanied with hazard enough. By this time the intelligence was certain of the loss of Dartmoth, which added neither courage nor numbers to our men. And the importunity was such from Exciter for present relief, that there seemed even a necessity of attempting somewhat towards it, upon how great disadvantage soever; and therefore the lord Hopton resolved to march by the way of Chimny [*sic*; Chulmleigh]; that so, being between the enemy and Barstable, he might borrow as many men out of that garrison as could be spared, and so by strong parties at least attempt upon their quarters. But it was likewise resolved that, in respect of the smallness of the numbers, and the general indisposition, (to say no worse,) both in officer and soldier, it would not be fit for his highness to venture his own person with the army, but that he should retire to Truro, and reside there; against which there were objections enough in view, which were weighed down by greater.

140. He that had observed the temper of the gentry of that county towards sir Richard Greenevill, or the clamour of the common people against his oppression and tyranny, would not have believed that such a necessary proceeding against him at that time could have been any impopular act; there being scarce a day in which some petition was not presented against

1646 him. As the Prince passed through Bodmin he received petitions from the wives of many substantial and honest men, amongst the rest, of the mayor of Listithell, who was very eminently affected and useful to the King's service, all whom he [Greenevill] had committed to the common gaol, for presuming to fish in that river, the royalty of which he pretended belonged to him by virtue of the sequestration granted to him by the King of the lord Roberts's estate at Lanhethricke; whereas they who were committed pretended a title, and had always used the liberty of fishing in those waters, as tenants to the prince of his highness' manor of Listithell; there having been long suits between the lord Roberts and the tenants of that manor for that royalty. When he came to Tavistock, he was again petitioned by many women for the liberty of their husbands, whom sir Richard had committed to prison for refusing to grind [at [1]] his mill, which he said they were bound by the custom to do. And so by his martial power he asserted whatever civil interest he thought fit to lay claim to, and never discharged any man out of prison till he absolutely submitted to his pleasure.

141. There were in the gaol at Lanson at this time, (when himself was committed,) at least thirty persons, constables and other men, whom he had committed, and imposed fines upon, some of three, four, and five hundred pounds, upon pretence of delinquency, of which he was in no case judge; for the payment whereof they were detained in prison. Amongst the rest was the mayor of St. Ive's, one Hammond, who had then the reputation of an honest man, and certified to be such by colonel Robinson, the governor, and by all the neighbouring gentlemen.

§ 76. After the late insurrection there, which is spoken of before, he had given his bond to sir Richard Greenevill, of £500, to produce a young man who was then absent, and accused to be a favourer of that mutiny, within so many days. The time expired before the man could be found; but within three days after the expiration of the term, the mayor sent the fellow to sir Richard Greenevill; but that would not satisfy, but he sent

[1] ['to,' MS.]

his marshal for the mayor himself, and required £50 of him for having forfeited his bond, and upon his refusal forthwith to pay it, committed him to the gaol at Lanson. The son of the mayor presented a petition to the Prince at Truro for his father's liberty, setting forth the matter of fact as it was, and annexing a very ample testimony of the good affection of the man. The petition was referred to sir Richard Greenevill, with direction that if the case were in truth such he[1] should discharge him. As soon as the son brought this petition to him, he put it in his pocket, told him the Prince understood not the business, and committed the son to gaol, and caused irons to be put upon him for his presumption. Upon a second petition to the Prince, at Lanson, after the time that sir Richard himself was committed, he directed the lord Hopton, upon examination of the truth of it, to discharge the man; of which when sir Richard heard, he sent to the gaoler, and forbad him, at his peril, to discharge Hammond, threatening him to make him pay the money; and, after that, caused an action to be entered in the town-court at Lanson upon the forfeiture of the bond. Yet after all this, he was no sooner committed by the Prince than even those who had complained of him as much as any expressed great trouble; and many officers of those forces which he had commanded in a tumultuous manner petitioned for his release; and others took great pains to have the indisposition of the people, and the ill accidents that followed, imputed to that proceeding against sir Richard Greenevill; in which none were forwarder than some of the Prince's own household servants, who were so tender of him that they forgot their duty to their master. 1646

142. It was Friday the sixth of February before the lord Hopton could move from Lanceston, for want of carriages for their ammunition and provisions of victual; neither had he then carriages for above half their little store, but relied upon the commissioners to send the remainder after; and so went to Torrington; where he resolved to fasten till his provisions could be brought up, and he might receive certain intelligence Feb. 6. Feb. 10.

[1] ['that he,' MS.]

1646 of the motion and condition of the enemy. He had not continued there above four days, in which he had barricadoed and made some little fastnesses about the town, when sir Thomas
Feb. 14. Fayrefax advanced to Chimly, within eight miles of Torrington, with 6000 foot, 3500 horse, and 500 dragoons; of which so near advance of the enemy (notwithstanding all the strict orders for keeping of guards, whereof one guard was, or was appointed to be, within two miles of Chimly) he had not known but by a lieutenant who was accidentally plundering in those parts, and fell amongst them; so negligent and unfaithful were both officers and soldiers in their duty.

143. The lord Hopton having this intelligence of the strength and neighbourhood of the enemy, had his election of two things, either to retire into Cornwall, or to abide them where he was. The first, besides the disheartening of his men, seemed rather a deferring than a preventing of any mischieve that could befall him; for he foresaw, if he brought that great body of horse into Cornwall, the few that remained of the train-bands would immediately dissolve, and run to their houses, and the remainder of horse and foot in a short time be destroyed without an enemy. And therefore he rather chose, notwithstanding the great disadvantage of number in foot, to abide them in that place; where, if the enemy should attempt him in so fast a quarter, he should defend himself with more advantage than he could in any other place. And so he placed his guards, and appointed all men to their posts, having drawn in as many horse (such as on the sudden he could get) into the town as he thought necessary, the rest being ordered to stand on a common
Feb. 16. at the east end of the town. But the enemy forced the barricado in one place by the baseness of the foot; with which the horse in [the] town more basely received such a fright, that they could neither be made charge or stand, but in perfect confusion run away; whose example all the foot upon the line and at their other posts followed; leaving their general (who was hurt in the face with a pike, and his horse killed under him) with two or three gentlemen, to shift for themselves; one of the officers publicly reporting, lest the soldiers should not

make haste enough in running away, that he saw their general 1646
run through the body with a pike. The lord Hopton, recovering a fresh horse, was compelled (being thus deserted by his men) to retire, which he did to the borders of Cornwall; and stayed at Stratton two or three days, till about 1000 or 1200 Feb. 17–19.
of his foot came up to him. It was then in consultation, since there was no likelihood of making any stand against the enemy with such foot, and that it was visible that body of horse could not long subsist in Cornwall, whether the horse might not break through to Oxford; which, in respect of their great weariness, having stood two or three days and nights in the field, and the enemy's strength, and being drawn up within two miles of them, was concluded to be impossible. Besides that there was at that time a most confident assurance by an express (sir D. Wyatt) out of France, of 4 or 5000 foot from Feb. 21.
thence within three weeks, or a month at farthest; those letters, and the messenger, averring that the most of the men were ready when he came away [1].

144. The enemy advanced to Stratton, and so to Lanson; where Mr. Edgecombe, who had always pretended to be of the King's party, with his regiment of train-bands, joined with him; and the lord Hopton retired to Bodmin; the horse, officers and soldiers, notwithstanding all the strict orders, very negligently performing their duty; insomuch as the lord Hopton protested [2], that, from the time he undertook the charge to the hour of dissolving, scarce a party or guard appeared with half the number appointed, or within two hours of the time; and col. Goring's brigade having the guard upon a down near Bodmin drew off without orders, and without sending out a scout, insomuch as the whole gross of the rebels were at daytime marched within three miles before the foot in Bodmin had any notice. So that the lord Hopton was instantly forced to draw off his foot and carriages westward; and kept the field that whole cold night, being the first of March; but could not, by all March 1.

[1] ['Whereas in truth there was never a man levied, nor, for aught I could since inform myself, like to be;' *struck out.*]

[2] [These three words substituted for 'I heard his lordship say.']

1646 his orders diligently sent out, draw any considerable body of horse to him by the end of the next day; they having quartered themselves at pleasure over the country, many above twenty miles from Bodmin, and many running to the enemy, and others purposely staying in their quarters till the enemy came to dispossess them.

145. When, by the disorders and distractions of the army, which are before set down, his highness was persuaded to make
Feb. 12. his own residence in Cornwall, he came to Truro on the 12th day of February; where he received a letter from the King, directed to those four of the council who had signed that to his majesty at Tavistock. The letter was dated at Oxford the 5th of February, and contained these words:

146. 'Yours from Tavistock hath fully satisfied me why my commands concerning Prince Charles his going beyond sea were not obeyed. And I likewise agree with you in opinion that he is not to go until there be an evident necessity; also approving very much of the steps whereby you mean to do it. But withal, I reiterate my commands to you for the Prince his going over whensoever there shall be a visible hazard of his falling into the rebels' hands. In the mean time, I like very well that he should be at the head of the army; and so much the rather, for what I shall now impart to you of my resolutions,' &c.

And so proceeded in the communication of his own design of taking the field; which was afterwards frustrated by the defeat of my lord Ashly, and the ill success in the west.

147. The Prince having stayed some days at Truro, he went to Pendennis[1]; intending only to recreate himself for two or three days, and to quicken the works, which were well advanced, his highness having issued all the money he could procure towards them[2]. But in the very morning that he meant to return to Truro, the army being then retired, and Fayrefax at the edge of Cornwall, the lord Hopton and the lord Capell sent advertisements that they had severally received intelligence of a design to seize the person of the Prince, and that many persons of quality of the country were privy to it[3]. Hereupon the Prince

[1] [He was there on Feb. 17. *Clar. S. P.* ii. 208.]

[2] ['and colonel Slingsby intending them with great diligence and activity:' *struck out.*]

[3] [Altered from 'and that the lord Moone and others of the country were privy to it.']

thought it most convenient to stay where he was, and so re- 1646
turned no more to Truro. The time of apparent danger was now in view; and if there were in truth any design of seizing the Prince's person, they had reason to believe that some of his own servants were not strangers to it. The lords Capell and Hopton being at the army, only the Prince, the lord Culpeper, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, knew the King's pleasure, and what was to be done. And they two had no confidence that they should have reputation enough to go through with it; the earl of Barkshire continuing very indisposed, and jealous of France, whatever they discoursed to the contrary: and the governor of the castle was old and fearful, and not resolute enough to be trusted[1]; and his son, though a gallant gentleman, and worthy of any trust, had little credit with his father.

148. There was no letter from the King (though they had long before desired such a one, and proposed the form) fit to be publicly shewn, and in which there were not some clauses which would have been applied to his majesty's disservice; especially if he should have been at London, which was then confidently averred by some, who sware they met him at Uxbridge. And therefore they concluded that the Prince's going away must be the effect of council, upon necessity, and the appearance of danger to his person, without any mention of the King's command; but how to procure this resolution from the council was the difficulty. They very well knew the lords' minds who were absent, but durst not own that knowledge, lest the design might be more suspected. In the end, having advised Baldwin Wake to cause the frigate belonging to Hasdunck and the other ships to be ready upon an hour's warning, they proposed in council, when the lords Barkshire and Brayneford were present, to send Mr. Fanshaw to the army, to receive the lords' opinion and advice what was best to be done with reference to the person of the Prince, and whether it were fit to hazard himself in Pendennis; which was accordingly

[1] ['old—trusted' substituted for 'so peevish and indiscreet that we durst not trust him.']

1646 done. And their lordships, (according to the former agreement between them,) returned their advice that it was not fit to venture himself in that castle, (which would not only not preserve his person, but probably by his stay there might be lost, which by his absence might defend itself,) and that he should remove to Jarsy or Silly. Which, upon Mr. Fanshaw's report, was unanimously consented to by the whole council.

149. But because Jarsy had such a neighbourhood to France, and so might give the greater umbrage, and that Silly was a part of Cornwall, and was by them all conceived a place of unquestionable strength, the public resolution was for Silly, it being in their power when they were at sea to go for Jarsy, if the wind was fair for one and cross to the other. And so, the resolution being imparted to no more that night than was of absolute necessity, (for we apprehended clamour from the army, from the country, and from that garrison in whose power the
March 2. Prince was,) the next morning, being Monday the 2nd of March, after the news was come that the army was retiring from Bodmin, and the enemy marching furiously after, and so men were sufficiently awaked with the apprehension of the Prince's safety, the governor and his son were called into the council, and made acquainted with the Prince's resolution that night to embark himself for Silly, being a part of Cornwall; from whence, by such aids and relief as he hoped he should procure from France and foreign parts, he should be best able to relieve them. And accordingly that night, about ten of the clock, he put himself
March 4. aboard, and on Wednesday in the afternoon, by God's blessing, arrived safe in Silly; from whence within two days the lord Culpeper was sent into France, to acquaint the Queen with his highness' being at Silly, with the wants and incommodities of that place; and to desire supply of men and monies for the defence thereof, and the support of his own person; it being agreed in council, before the lord Culpeper's going from Silly, that if, upon advancement of the Parliament fleet or any other apparent danger, his highness should have cause to suspect the security of his person there, (the strength of the place in no degree answering their expectation or the fame of it,) he would imme-

diately embark himself in the same frigate, (which attended there,) and go to Jarsy. 1646

150. When the lord Hopton found that he could put no restraint to the license of the soldiers, he called a council of war March 2.
to consider what was to be done. The principal officers of horse were so far from considering some means to put their men in order and heart to face the enemy, that they declared in plain English that their men would never be brought to fight, and therefore proposed positively to send for a treaty: from which not one officer dissented, except only major general Webb, who always professed against it. The lord Hopton told them it was a thing he could not consent to without express leave from the Prince, who was then at Pendennis Castle [1], to whom he would immediately despatch away an express; hoping by that delay that he should be able to recover the officers to another resolution, or that by the advance of the enemy they would be compelled to fight. But they continued their importunity, and at last a trumpet arrived (no doubt by the advice of our own March 6.
men; for many, both officers and soldiers, went every day in to them) from sir Thomas Fayrefax with a letter to the lord Hop- March 5.
ton, offering a treaty, and making some propositions to the officers and soldiers. His lordship communicated not this letter to above one or two, of principal trust; conceiving it not fit in that disorder and dejectedness to make it public. Hereupon all the principal officers assemble together, (except the major general) and, expressing much discontent that they might not see the letter, declare peremptorily to the lord Hopton, that if he would not consent to it they were resolved to treat themselves. And from this time they neither kept guards nor performed any duty; their horse every day mingling with those of the enemy without any act of hostility. In this strait, he having sent all his ammunition and foot into Pendennis and the March 9.
Mount, and declared that he would neither treat for himself or the garrisons, he gave the horse leave to treat; and thereupon those articles were concluded by which that body of horse was March 14.

[1] ['at that time removed from Pendennis to Scilly;' Hopton's narrative in Carte's *Letters*, i. 118.]

1646 dissolved; and himself and the lord Capell, with the first wind, went from the Mount to Silly, to attend his highness; who was gone thither from Pendennis Castle, after the enemy's whole army was entered Cornwall.

151. Having left the Prince in Silly, so near the end of that ill year of 1645, (for it was upon the 23rd of March,) that there will be no more occasion of mentioning him till the next year, and being now to leave Cornwall, it will be necessary to inform the reader of one particular[1]. It is at large set down in the former book[2] what proceedings there had been at Oxford against duke Hambleton, and how he had been first sent prisoner to Bristol, and from thence to Pendennis Castle in Cornwall. And since we shall hereafter meet him acting a great part for the King, and general in the head of a great army, it would be very incongruous, after having spent so much time in Cornwall without so much as naming him, to leave men ignorant what became of him, and how he obtained his liberty; which he employed afterwards with so much zeal for the King's service, to the loss of his life, by which he was not only vindicated in the opinion of many honest men from all those jealousies and aspersions which he had long suffered under, but the proceeding that had been against him was looked upon by many as void of that justice and policy which had been requisite; and they conclude by what he did after a long imprisonment how much he might have done more successfully if he had never been restrained. Without doubt, what he did afterwards, and what he suffered, ought to free his memory from any reproaches for any errors or weakness of which he had before been guilty. What were the motives and inducements of his commitment have been at large set

[1] [This account of the duke of Hamilton originally commenced thus: 'Having forgot in these memorandums to say anything of the duke Hambleton, and hearing that somewhat hath been objected to us of negligence in transacting matters with him, or in leaving him at the Mount, whence he was set at liberty, I have thought fit to insert whatsoever I can call to my memory that hath passed with reference to him. When the Prince went the first time to Pendennis to dinner, it was agreed at council that the duke was not to see the Prince, nor any of his train the duke,' &c. This introduction is dated, 'Jarsy, this 10th of Sept., 1646.']

[2] [Book vii. § 408.]

down before in its proper place. It remains now only to set 1645
down how he came at last to be possessed of his liberty, and why he obtained it not sooner by other more gracious ways, which might have been an obligation upon him; when it might easily have been foreseen that he would be in a short time at liberty, notwithstanding any opposition.

152. When the Prince first visited Cornwall, to settle his own revenue of that duchy, which was the only support he had, and out of which he provided for the carrying on the King's service upon many emergent occasions, he spent some days at Truro, to settle his imposition upon the tin, by virtue of his ancient privilege of pre-emption. And in that time, (which was about the end of July,) the governor of Pendennis Castle invited him to dine there; which his highness willingly accepted, that he might take a full view of the situation and strength thereof, having it then in his view that he might probably be compelled to resort thither. Every man knew well that duke Hambleton was then a prisoner there, and therefore it was to be considered what the Prince was to do if the duke should desire, as without doubt he would, to kiss his hand. And it was resolved without dispute that the Prince was not to admit such a person into his presence who stood so much in his father's displeasure, and committed to prison by him; and that none of the council, or of his highness's servants, should visit or enter into any kind of correspondence with him. And thereupon the governor was advised, in regard the accommodations in the castle were very narrow, that, during the time the Prince was in the castle, the duke should be removed out of his chamber into one of the soldiers' houses; which was done accordingly. This the duke took very heavily, and lamented that he might not be admitted to see the Prince; and had a desire to have conferred with the lord Culpeper, or the Chancellor, which they were not then at liberty to have satisfied him [in]. And he afterwards renewed the same desire to them both by his servant Mr. Hambleton. Hereupon, when the Chancellor was shortly after sent to visit the ports of Padstow, the Mount, and Pendennis, which was about the middle of August, (the business being, under that

1645 disguise, to provide for the Prince's transportation when it should be necessary,) the Prince referred it to him to see the duke, if he found it convenient.

153. Hereupon, when he came to Pendennis, (being in the afternoon, and to stay there necessarily some days,) he was informed that the duke came always abroad to meals, and that at that time all men spake freely with him: so that either he was to be made a close prisoner by his being there, or they were to meet at supper and dinner. And the governor then asked him whether the duke should come abroad. He [the Chancellor] had neither authority nor reason to make any alteration; therefore he told him, he knew his own course, which he presumed he would observe whoever came; and that if the duke pleased, he would wait upon him in his chamber, to kiss his hands before supper; the which he did, when the duke, after some civilities to him whom he had long known, and some reproaches to the governor, who was present, of his very strict usage and carriage towards him, which, he said, he believed he could not justify, (when the Chancellor well knew that the governor was absolutely governed by him,) spake[1] to him of his own condition, and of his misfortune to fall into his majesty's displeasure without giving him any offence. He told him that he had very much desired to speak with him, that he might make a proposition to him, which he thought for the King's service; and he desired if it seemed so to him, that he would find means to recommend it to his majesty, and to procure his acceptance of it. Then he told him that he was an absolute stranger to the affairs of both kingdoms, having no other intelligence than what he received from gentlemen whom he met in the next room at dinner; but he believed by his majesty's late loss at Naseby[2] that his condition in England was very much worse than his servants hoped it would have been, and therefore that it might concern him to transact his business in Scotland as soon as might be: that he knew not in what state the lord Mountrose was in that kingdom, but he was persuaded that he was not without opposition. He

[1] ['he spake,' MS.]
[2] ['Navesby,' MS., and in subsequent places.]

said he was confident that if he had his liberty, he could do the 1645
King considerable service, and either incline that nation powerfully to mediate a peace in England, or positively to declare for the King and join with Mountrose. He said he knew it was believed by many that the animosity was so great from him to Mountrose, (who indeed had done him very causeless injuries,) that he would rather meditate revenge than concur with him in any action: but he said he too well understood his own danger if the King and monarchy were destroyed in this kingdom, to think of private contention and matters of revenge when the public was so much at stake; and he must acknowledge, how unjust soever the lord Mountrose had been to him, he had done the King great service; and therefore protested, with many execrations, he should join with him in the King's behalf as with a brother; and if he could not win his own brother from the other party, he would be as much against him. He said he could not apprehend that his liberty could be any way prejudicial to the King, for he would be a prisoner still upon his parole; and would engage his honour that if he found that he could not be able to do his majesty that acceptable service which he desired, (of which he had not the least doubt,) he would speedily return, and render himself a prisoner again in the place where he then was. In this discourse he made very great professions and expressions of his devotion to the King's service, of his obligations to him, and of the great confidence he had in this particular of being useful to him.

154. After he made some pause in expectation of what the Chancellor would say, he [the Chancellor] told him he doubted not but he was very able to serve the King both in that and in this kingdom, there being very many in both who had a principal dependence upon him: that he heard the King was making some propositions to the Scotch army in England, and that it would be a great instance of his affection and fidelity to the King, if, by any message from him to his friends and dependents in the Scots' army then before Hereford, or to his friends in Scotland, his brother being the head or prime person of power there that opposed Mountrose, they should declare

1645 for the King, or appear willing to do him service; and that, he having free liberty to send through the Parliament's army to London or into Scotland, he might as soon do the King this service as receive a warrant for his enlargement; which he presumed he knew could not be granted but by the King himself.

155. He [the duke] replied, that he expected that answer, but that it was not possible for him to do any thing by message or letter, or any way but by his presence: first, that they in whom he had interest would look upon any thing he should write, or any message he should send, as the result of distress and compulsion, not of his affection or judgment. Besides, he said, he looked upon himself as very odious to that nation, which was irreconciled to him for his zeal to the King, and thought this a just judgment of God upon him for not adhering to them. And, he said, for his own brother, who he heard indeed had the greatest influence upon their counsels, he had no reason to be confident in him at that distance; for, besides the extreme injury he did to him in making an escape from Oxford, by which both their innocencies were to be suspected, and for which he should never forgive him, he was the heir of the house and family, and he believed would be well content that he [himself] should grow old and die in prison: whereas, if he were at liberty and amongst them, he was confident some for love, and others for fear, would stick to him; and he should easily make it appear to those who were fiercest against the King, that it concerned their own interest to support the King in his just power. However, he concluded, that the worst that could come was his returning to prison, which he would not fail to do. So the discourse ended for that night.

156. The next day he entered again into the same argument, with much earnestness that the Chancellor would interpose upon that ground for his liberty; who told him that he was so ill a courtier that he could not dissemble to him: that he was not satisfied with his reasons, and could not but believe he had interest enough at that distance to make some real demonstration of his affection to the King, by the impression he

might make upon his dependents and allies: and therefore that 1645
he could not offer any advice to the King to the purpose he desired. He told him that he had been present at the Council-table when the King communicated that business which concerned him to the Board; and that he gave his opinion fully and earnestly for his commitment, being satisfied, upon the information that was given concerning him, that his affection to the King was very questionable; and that it appeared that he had been earnestly pressed, by those persons of honour in that kingdom upon whom his majesty relied, to declare himself, and that if he could have been induced so to do, having promised the King he would, and having authority to that purpose from him, they might very easily have suppressed that rebellion in the bud: but that his lordship and his brother were so far from opposing it, that the very proclamation which had issued out there for the general insurrection (which proclamation was perused at Council-table when he was committed) was not only set forth in his majesty's own name but sealed with his signet, which was then in the custody of the earl of Lanricke his brother, he being Secretary of State in that kingdom. That those who were the principal informers against him, and who professed that they could do no service if he were at liberty, had since his restraint, being armed with no more authority than he had at his last being there when the kingdom was in peace, upon[1] all disadvantages imaginable, when that kingdom was totally lost to the King, reduced the greatest part of it again to his obedience; and therefore, whether it was his lordship's misfortune or his fault, since things prospered so well in his absence, he could not as a councillor advise the King, without the privity and consent of the lord Mountrose, or without some such testimony of his service as he had before proposed, to give him his liberty: and that any ill success, which possibly might have no relation to that act, would yet be imputed to that counsel, and my lord Mountrose have at least a just or probable excuse for any thing that should happen amiss.

157. The duke thanked him for the freedom he had used

[1] ['had upon,' MS.]

1645 towards him, and said, upon the information which was given against him he must acknowledge the proceedings to be very just, but he was confident, whenever he should be admitted to a fair hearing, he should appear very innocent from the allegations which had been given. He said he had never made the least promise to the King which he had not exactly performed; that he had not authority or power to cross any thing that was done to the prejudice of the King; and therefore to have made any such attempt or declaration as some lords had desired, in that conjuncture of time, had been to have destroyed themselves to no purpose: and therefore he made haste to the King with such propositions and overtures, that he was confident, if he had been admitted to have spoken with his majesty at his coming to Oxford, he should have given good satisfaction, and intended immediately to have returned into Scotland with such authority and countenance as the King could well have given him, and doubted not but to have prevented any inconveniences from that kingdom: but that by his imprisonment (which he could have prevented, for he had notice upon his journey what was intended, and trusted so much in his innocence that he would not avoid it) all those designs failed. For his brother, he could say nothing; but he believed him an honest man; and for the proceedings of the lord Mountrose, though he had received good assistance from Ireland, which was a good foundation, he could not but say it had been little less than miraculous: however, he presumed the work was not so near done there but that his assistance might be very seasonable. After this they spake often together; but this was the substance and result of all; he insisting upon his present liberty, and the other as pressing that he would write to his friends. Yet he [the Chancellor] promised him to present by the first convenience his suit and propositions to the King; which he shortly after did in a letter to my lord Digby.

158. Upon the first news of the loss of the battle of Naseby, it was enough foreseen that the Prince himself might be put to a retreat to Pendennis Castle. And therefore they wished that it might be in the Prince his power to remove, upon an

emergent occasion, the duke from that place. Which consideration the lord Culpeper presented to the King, at his being with him in Wales; and thereupon a warrant was sent from the King for the removal of the duke to Silly; which was likewise foreseen that the Prince might repair to[1]. As the enemy drew nearer the west, many good men were very solicitous that the duke should be removed from Pendennis, having a great jealousy of the interest he had in the governor; of which there was so universal a suspicion, that many letters were writ to the council[2], that if he were not speedily disposed to some other place, they feared the castle would be betrayed: and sir Richard Greenevill writ earnestly to the Prince about it, and sir Harry Killigrew (a person of entire affection to the King, and a true friend to the governor) very importunately. So that about the month of November the King's warrant for his removal was sent to sir Arthur Bassett, governor of the Mount; who went to Pendennis in the morning, and took him with him to the Mount, in order to removing him to Silly when the time should require it; the duke expressing great trouble and discontent that he should be removed, and pretending that he could not ride for the stone, (of which he complained so much, that he had petitioned the King for leave to go into France to be cut); and the governor, and all that family and garrison, made show of no less grief to part with him, he having begotten a great opinion in that people of his integrity and innocence. And when the duke saw there was no remedy, he mounted a horse that was provided for him, and passed the journey very well. 1645

159. After the loss of Dartmoth, some persons of near trust about the Prince resumed the discourse again of enlarging the duke, and believed that he would be able to do the King great service in the business of Scotland; and this prevailed so far with one of the lords of the council, that, upon the confidence

[1] ['which was—repair to,' *originally in the MS.*: 'which we were to make use of when there should be occasion: but of this none knew but the lords Capell, Hopton, and Culpeper, and myself.']

[2] ['that many—council,' *originally*, 'that Mr. Porter, who lay some time at Peryn, writ to me.']

1645 of Dr. Frayzar, the Prince's physician, he made a journey with the doctor to the Mount; and did think that he had so much prevailed with the duke, that he had consented to send a servant[1] speedily to the Scots' army in England, (who should likewise pass by the King, and carry any letters to his majesty from the Prince,) to persuade them to comply with the King; and that he would likewise despatch Charles Murry into Scotland, instructed to his brother Lanricke and that party, to oblige them to join with Mountrose. But Dr. Frayzard [*sic*] confessed to those he trusted, that the duke rather consented to it to satisfy that lord's vehemence and importunity than that he had any great hope of success by it, insisting still that nothing but his own liberty would do it: for which he gave a reason that before had never been heard of, and was very contrary to what the duke had said to the Chancellor, which was, that the State of Scotland was so sensible of the injury done to the duke by his imprisonment, (which he had said before that they were very glad of,) that they had made an

[1] [The passage from the beginning of the section to this place originally stood thus in the MS.:—

'After the loss of Dartmoth, my lord Culpeper (as he had done sometimes before) spake with me of the duke, and told me he would be able to do the King great service in the business of Scotland; and that he was persuaded he might be made of great use, and that Dr. Frayzard (who had sometimes spoke with me to that purpose) was of opinion that if his lordship and I spake with the duke, he would be persuaded to do any thing we advised. I answered I thought otherwise, for that upon all the discourse I had with him he seemed wholly intent upon his liberty, and to attempt nothing without that, and that Dr. Frayzar drove in all his discourse with me to that point too; which, I said, if our judgments were satisfied, (as mine was not,) I conceived not [to] be in the Prince's power. My lord Culpeper seemed confident (though I had often before acquainted him with all that had passed) that the duke might easily be persuaded to act his part before he had his liberty. I was then sent again to Pendennis, to hasten the provisions and the works, and went about by Foy and Low thither, to take order for some provisions which had been made in those places by my direction. When I came to Truro, I heard that my lord Culpeper and Dr. Frayzard had lain there the night before, and were that morning gone to the Mount. I easily guessed the occasion, though I wondered much at it, having left them both at Lanson. The next day we met, and then my lord Culpeper told me that the duke, upon much discourse and persuasion, had consented to send a servant,' etc.]

order that there should never be treaty with the King, or agreeing with Mountrose, till he was at liberty, or brought to a legal trial. And when Charles Murry went to him for his instructions, though he said much that he should say again to his friends and his brother towards their declaring for the King, he discouraged him much as to the journey, presenting to him his own danger and the strict orders that were in Scotland against divisive motions: of which he said he feared this would be taken for one. 1645

160. This made the council to have no mind[1] to be engaged in any treaty with him, and less in proposing or consenting to his liberty; not only upon the former knowledge they had of his disposition and nature, in which they had no confidence, but also that they believed if he were not sincere he would do much mischieve, and the more for being in any degree trusted: if he were [sincere,] that he would be able to do more good by being redeemed out of prison by the enemy than by being released by the King or Prince. And therefore, when the Prince removed in that haste and disorder from Pendennis to Silly, there could be no possibility of stirring him[2]; so, at the surrender of the Mount, which[3] was by his advice much sooner than they had reason to do it, and when they were able to defend themselves for many months, he was enlarged, and removed himself to London by speedy journeys on horseback; and did never after complain[4] of the stone, which he before protested would kill him if he were not cut within a year. This is the truth of all that passed concerning the duke to my knowledge. 1646 Apr. 23.

161. We left the King in Oxford, free from the trouble and uneasiness of those perpetual and wandering marches in which

[1] [Originally, 'So that I had in my own private inclination (though I concurred willingly in those overtures) no mind.' And in the following clauses 'I' has been altered into 'they.']

[2] ['but afterwards at Silly, and when we came to Jarsy, many were of opinion that he should be removed, which I never opposed, but could not cheerfully act in, having many apprehensions which I could not well discover;' *struck out.*]

[3] ['I believe,' *struck out.*]

[4] [Originally, 'and hath not since that I hear complained.']

1645 he had been so many months exercised, and quiet from all rude and insolent provocations. He was now amongst his true and faithful councillors and servants, whose affection and loyalty had first engaged them in his service, and which stuck to him to the end; and who, if they were not able to give him assistance to stem that mighty torrent that overbore both him and them, paid him still the duty that was due to him, and gave him no vexation when they could not give him comfort. There were yet some garrisons which remained in his obedience, and which were like, during the winter season, to be preserved from any attempt of the enemy; but upon the approach of the spring, if the King should be without an army in the field, the fate of those few places was easy to be discerned. And which way an army could possibly be brought together, or where it should be raised, was not within the compass of the wisest man's comprehension. However, the more difficult it was, the more vigour was to be applied in the attempt. Worcester, as it was neighbouring to Wales, had the greatest outlet and elbow-room; and the Parliament party that had gotten any footing there behaved themselves with that insolence and tyranny, that even they who had called them thither were weary of them, and ready to enter into any combination to destroy them. Upon
Dec. this prospect, and some invitation, the King sent the lord Ashly
Aug. (whom he had before, at his being at Cardiff, constituted governor of those parts, in the place of the lord Gerard) to Worcester, with order to proceed, as he should find himself able, towards the gathering a body of horse together against the spring from those garrisons which were left and from Wales: and what progress he made towards it will be part of the sad account which belongs to the next year.

162. When a full prospect, upon the most mature deliberation, was taken of all the hopes which might with any colour of reason be entertained, all that occurred appeared so hopeless and desperate [that] it was thought fit to resort to an old expedient that had been found as desperate as any; which was, a new overture for a treaty of peace: for which they who advised it had no other reason but that they could [not] tell

what else to do. Cromwell had left Fayrefax about Exciter, 1645
and with a party selected had sat down before Basing, and his Oct. 8.
imperious summons having been rejected, he stormed the Oct. 11.
place and took it, and put most of the garrison to the sword: Oct. 14.
which so terrified other places, that Winchester shortly after[1] Oct. 6.
rendered upon easy conditions. The lesser garrisons in the north, which had stood out till now, were rendered every day; and the Scots' army, which had marched as far as their own borders, was called back, and required to besiege Newark. So that whoever thought the sending to the Parliament (puffed up and swoln with so many successes) for a peace would prove to no purpose, was not yet able to tell what was like to prove to better purpose. And this reflection alone prevailed with the King, who had enough experimented those inclinations, to refer entirely to the Council, to choose any expedient they thought most probable to succeed, and to prepare any message they would advise his majesty to send to the Parliament. And when they had considered it, the overtures he had already made by two several messages, to which he had received no answer, were so ample, that they knew not what addition to make to them, but concluded that this message should contain nothing but a resentment, and demand of an answer to the messages his majesty had formerly sent for a treaty of peace[2].

163. And this message had the same entertainment which the former had received. It was received, read, and then laid aside without any debate, which they who wished well to it had not credit or courage to advance, yet still found means to convey their advice to Oxford that the King should not give over that importunity: and they who had little hope of better effects from it, were yet of opinion that the neglecting those gracious invitations made by his majesty for peace would shortly make the Parliament so odious, that they would not dare long to continue in the same obstinacy. The Scots were grieved and

[1] [Not after but before.]

[2] [This appears to refer to the message sent by the King on Dec. 15 and read on Dec. 17 (*Lords' Journals*, viii. 46) on his not having then received any answer to his message of Dec. 5 which is noticed in sect. 164. Clarendon appears to have transposed the order of the two letters.]

1645 enraged to see their idol Presbytery so undervalued and slighted that, beside the Independents' power in the city, their very Assembly of Divines lost credit and authority every day to support it, and desired nothing more than a treaty for peace: and many others who had contributed most to the suppression of the King's power, were now much more afraid of their own army than ever they had been of his authority, and believed that if a treaty were once set on foot it would not be in the power of the most violent to render it uneffectual: and whatever they believed themselves they conveyed to some about the King, as the concurrent advice of all who pretended to wish well: and some men took upon them to send the subject of what message the King should send, and clothed in such expressions [as[1]] they conceived were like to gain ground; which his majesty could not but graciously accept, though he very seldom imitated their style.

164. After the King had long expected an answer to his last message, induced by those and the like reasons above mentioned,
Dec. 5. he sent again to the Parliament that they would send a safe conduct for the duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton, Mr. John Ashburnham and Mr. Geoffrey Palmer; by whom he would make such particular propositions to them as he hoped
Dec. 25. would produce a peace. To this they returned an answer, such as it was, that it would be inconvenient, and might be of dangerous consequence, to admit those lords and gentlemen to come into their quarters; but that they were preparing some propositions, which, when finished, should be sent to his majesty in bills, to be signed by him; which would be the only way to produce a peace. The King understood well what such bills would contain, and which when he had granted he should have nothing left to deny; and therefore liked not that such conclusions should be made without a treaty. He resolved once more to try another [way,] which being never yet tried he believed they could not deny: and if granted, what hazard soever his person should be in, he should discover whether he had so many friends in the Parliament and the city as many

[1] ['and,' MS.]

men would persuade him to conclude, and whether the Scots had ever a thought of doing him service. He sent to them towards the end of December, that since all other overtures had proved ineffectual, he desired to enter into a personal treaty with the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster and the commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland, upon all matters which might conduce to the peace and happiness of the distracted kingdoms; and to that purpose his majesty would come to London or Westminster, with such of his servants as now attended him and their followers, not exceeding in the whole the number of three hundred persons, if he might have the engagement of the two Houses of Parliament, the commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland, of the chief commanders in sir Thomas Fayrefax's army and of those of the Scots' army, for his free and safe coming to, and abode in, London or Westminster, for the space of forty days; and after that time, for his free and safe repair to Oxford, Worcester or Newark, if a peace should not be concluded: and for their better encouragement to hope well from this treaty, his majesty offered to settle the militia in such persons as should be acceptable to them. 1645 Dec. 26.

165. This message indeed awaked them, and made them believe that the gamesters who were to play this game looked into their hands, and hoped to find a party in their own quarters; and that if they should neglect to send an answer to this message, their silence might be taken for consent, and that they should quickly hear that the King was in London; which they did not wish. They made thereupon more than ordinary haste to let his majesty know that there had been no delay on their parts; but for the personal treaty desired by his majesty, after so much innocent blood shed in the war by his commands and commissions, (with the mention of many other odious particulars,) they conceived that until satisfaction and security were first given to both kingdoms his majesty's coming thither could not be convenient, nor by them assented to; nor did they apprehend it a means conducing to peace, to accept of a treaty for few days, with any thoughts or intentions of returning to hostility again. They observed, that his majesty desired the 1646. Jan. 13.

1646 engagement not only of the Parliament, but of the chief commanders in sir Thomas Fayrefax's army, and those of the Scots' army; which, they said, was against the privilege and honour of Parliament, to have those joined with them who were subject and subordinate to their authority. They renewed what they had said in their last answer, that they would shortly send some bills to his majesty, the signing of which would be the best way to procure a good and a safe peace.

166. And though the [King] was not willing to acquiesce Jan. 17, with this stubborn rejection, but sent message upon message 24, 29. still to them for a better answer, and at last offered to dismantle Feb. 6. March 23. all his garrisons, and to come to and reside with his Parliament if all they who had adhered to him might be at liberty to live in their own houses, and to enjoy their own estates, without being obliged to take any oaths but what were enjoined by the law, he could never procure any other answer from them. And lest all this should not appear affront enough, they published an March 31. ordinance, as they called it, That if the King should, contrary to the advice of the Parliament already given to him, come or attempt to come within the lines of communication, that then the committee of the militia should raise such forces as they should think fit, to prevent any tumult that might arise by his coming, and to suppress any that should happen, and to apprehend any who should come with him or resort to him, and to secure his person from danger; which was an expression they were not ashamed always to use, when there was no danger that threatened him but what themselves contrived and designed against him. To this their ordinance they added another injunction, that all who had ever borne arms for his majesty (whereof very many upon the surrender of garrisons, and liberty granted to them by their articles upon those surrenders, were come thither) should immediately depart, and go out of London, upon penalty of being proceeded against as spies. So that all doors being in this obstinate manner shut against a treaty, all thoughts of that, at least with reference to the Parliament, were laid aside, and all endeavours used to gather such a power together as might make them see that his majesty

was not out of all possibility of being yet able to defend himself. 1646

167. Though all hopes, (as I said,) were desperate of any treaty with the Parliament, and consequently many hazards were to be run in the contriving a peace any other way, yet the sustaining the war with any probability of success was the next desirable thing to a peace, and preferable before any such peace as was reasonably to be hoped for from the party that governed the army, which governed the Parliament. The King therefore used all the means which occurred to him, or which were proposed and advised by others, to divide the Independent party, and to prevail with some principal persons of them to find their content and satisfaction in advancing the King's interest. That party comprehended many who were neither enemies to the State or to the Church, but desired heartily that a peace might be established upon the foundations of both, so their own particular ambitions might be complied with. And to them the King thought he might be able to propose very valuable compensation for any service they could do him: and the power of the Presbyterians, as they were in conjunction with the Scots, seemed no unnatural argument to work upon those who professed to be swayed by matter of conscience in religion: since it was out of all question that they should never find the least satisfaction to their scruples and their principles in church government, from those who pretended to erect the kingdom of Jesus Christ. And it was thought to be no ill presage towards the repairing the fabric of the Church of England, that its two mortal enemies, who had exposed it to so much persecution and oppression, hated each other as mortally, and laboured each other's destruction with the same fury and zeal they had both proscribed her. And this reasonable imagination very much disposed the King, who was well acquainted with the unruly spirit and malice of the Presbytery, to think it possible that he might receive some benefit from the Independents, who were a faction newly grown up, and with which he was utterly unacquainted; and his majesty's extraordinary affection for the Church made him less weigh and consider the incompatibility

1646 and irreconcilableness of that faction with the government of the State; of which it may be he was the less sensible, because he thought nothing more impossible than that the English nation should submit to any other than monarchic government. Then there were an over-active and busy kind of men, who still undertook to make overtures, as agreeable to the wish of some principal leaders of that party and as with their authority, and so prevailed with the King to suffer some persons of credit near him to make some propositions in his name to particular persons[1]. And it is very probable, that the same men who made the expectations of those people appear to the King much more reasonable and moderate than in truth they were, so they persuaded the others to believe that his majesty would yield to many more important concessions than he would ever be induced to grant. And so either side had in a short time a clear view into each other's intentions, and quickly gave over any expectation of benefit that way; save that the Independents were willing that the King should cherish the hopes of their compliance, and the King as willing that they should believe that his majesty might be prevailed with to grant more than at first he appeared resolved to do.

168. The truth is, though that party was most prevalent in the Parliament, and comprehended all the superior officers of the army, (the general only excepted, who thought himself a Presbyterian,) yet there were only three men, Vane, Cromwell, and Ireton, who governed and disposed all the rest according to their sentiments; and without doubt they had not yet published their dark designs to many of their own party, nor would their party at that time have been so numerous and considerable, if they had known, or but imagined, that they had entertained those thoughts of heart which they grew every day less tender to conceal and forward enough to discover.

169. But there was another intrigue now set on foot, with much more probability of success, both in respect of the thing

[1] [Negotiations were carried on with the Independents by the earl of Bristol in Oct. 1643—Jan. 1644. See vol. viii. of the *Camden Miscellany* published by the Camden Society, 1883.]

itself, and the circumstances with which it came accompanied; 1645
and that was a treaty with the Scots by the interposition and mediation of the Crown of France; which, to that purpose, at this time sent an envoy, one Mountrell, to London, with some Dec.
formal address to the Parliament, but intentionally to negotiate between the King and the Scots; whose agent at Paris had given encouragement to the Queen of England, who was then there, to hope that that nation would return to their duty. And the Queen Regent, in the great generosity of her heart, did really desire to contribute all that was in her power to the King's recovery, and to that purpose sent Mountrell at this time with credentials to the King as well as to the Parliament; by which the Queen had opportunity to communicate her advice to the King her husband; and the envoy had authority to engage the faith of France for the performance of whatsoever the King should promise to the Scots.

170. This was the first instance, and it will appear a very sorry one, that any sovereign prince gave of wishing any reconciliation, or to put a period to the civil war in his majesty's dominions; towards the contrivance whereof, and the frequent fomenting it, too many of them contributed too much. The old mistaken and unhappy maxim, that the Crown of England could balance the differences which fell out between the princes of Europe by its inclining to either party, had made the ministers of that State too negligent in cultivating the affections of their neighbours by any real obligations; as if they were to be arbiters only in the differences which fell out between them, without being themselves liable to any impressions of adverse fortune. This made the unexpected calamity that befell that kingdom not ingrateful to its neighbours on all sides, who were willing to see it weakened and chastised by its own strokes.

171. Cardinal Richelieu[1], out of the natural haughtiness of his own nature, and immoderate appetite to do mischieve, under the disguise of being jealous of the honour of his master, had discovered an implacable hatred against the English, from that unhappy provocation by the invasion of the Isle of Ree and the

[1] ['Richleiwe,' MS.]

1645 declared protection of Rochelle; and took the first opportunity from the indisposition and murmurs of Scotland to warm that people into rebellion, and saw the poison thereof prosper and spread to his own wish; which he fomented by the French ambassador in the Parliament with all the venom of his heart, as hath been mentioned before[1]. As he had not unwisely driven the Queen mother out of France, or rather kept her from returning when she had unadvisedly withdrawn herself from thence, so he was as vigilant to keep her daughter, the Queen of England, from coming thither; which she resolved to have done when she carried the princess royal into Holland, in hope to work upon the King her brother, to make such a seasonable declaration against the rebels of England and Scotland as might terrify them from the farther prosecution of their wicked purposes. But it was made known to her that her presence would not be acceptable in France; and so for the present that enterprise was declined.

172. But that great cardinal being now dead, and the King himself within a short time after, the administration of the affairs of that kingdom, in the infancy of the King and under his mother the Queen Regent, was committed to cardinal Mazaryne, an Italian by birth, and subject to the King of Spain, raised by Richelieu to the degree of a cardinal for his great dexterity in putting Casal into the hands of France, when the Spaniard had given it up to him as the nuncio of the Pope, and in trust that it should remain in the possession of his holiness till the title of the duke of Mantua should be determined. This cardinal was a man rather of different than contrary parts from his predecessor, and fitter to build upon the foundations which he had laid than to have laid those foundations, and to cultivate by artifice, dexterity, and dissimulation, (in which his nature and parts excelled,) what the other had begun with great resolution and vigour, and even gone through with invincible constancy and courage. So that the one having broken the heart of all opposition and contradiction of the Crown by

[1] [Book vi. §§ 178–9.]

the cutting off the head of the duke of Montmorency[1], and 1645
reducing monsieur, the brother of the King, to the most tame submission and incapacity of fomenting another rebellion, it was very easy for the other to find a compliance from all men, who were sufficiently terrified from any contradiction. So that how great things soever this last minister performed for the service of that Crown during the minority of the King, they may all, in justice, be imputed to the prudence and providence of cardinal Richelieu, who reduced and disposed the whole nation to an entire subjection and submission to what should be imposed upon them.

173. Cardinal Mazaryne, when he came first to that great ministry, was without any personal animosity against the person of the King or the English nation; and was no otherwise delighted with the distraction and confusion they were both involved in, than as it disabled the whole people from making such a conjunction with the Spaniard as might make the prosecution of that war (upon which his whole heart was set) the more difficult to him: which he had the more reason to apprehend by the residence of don Alonso de Cardenas, ambassador from the King of Spain, still at London, making all addresses to the Parliament. When the Queen had been compelled in the last year, upon the advance of the earl of Essex into the west, to transport herself out of Cornwall into France, she had found there as good a reception as she could expect, and received as many expressions of kindness from the Queen Regent, and as ample promises from the cardinal, as she could wish. So that she promised herself a very good effect from her journey; and did procure from him such a present supply of arms and ammunition, as, though of no great value in itself, she was willing to interpret as a good evidence of the reality of his intentions. But the cardinal did not yet think the King's condition low enough; and rather desired by administering little and ordinary supplies to enable him to continue the struggle, than to see him victorious over his enemies, when he might more remember how slender aid he had received than that he

[1] ['Momerancy,' MS.]

1645 had been assisted, and might make himself arbiter of the peace between the two Crowns. And therefore he was more solicitous to keep a good correspondence with the Parliament, and to profess a neutrality between the King and them, than inclined to give them any jealousy by appearing much concerned for the King.

174. But after the battle at Naseby was lost, and that the King seemed so totally defeated that he had very little hope of appearing again in the head of an army that might be able to resist the enemy, he [the cardinal] was awakened to new apprehensions, and saw more cause to fear the monstrous power of the Parliament, after they had totally subdued the King, than ever he had the excess of greatness in the Crown: and therefore, besides the frequent incitements he received from the generosity of the Queen Regent, who really desired to apply some substantial relief to the King, he was himself willing to receive any propositions from the Queen of England by which she thought that the King her husband's service might be advanced; and had always the dexterity and artifice, by letting things fall in his discourse in the presence of those who he knew would observe and report what they heard or conceived, to cause that to be proposed to him which he had most mind to do or to engage himself in. And so he had application enough from the covenanting party of Scotland (who from the beginning had depended upon France, by the encouragement and promises of cardinal Richelieu) to know how to direct them to apply themselves to the Queen of England, that they might come recommended by her majesty to him, as a good expedient for the King's service. For they were not now reserved in their complaints of the treatment they received from the Parliament, and of the terrible apprehension they had of being disappointed of all their hopes by the prevalence of the Independent army and of their faction in both Houses; and therefore wished nothing more than a good opportunity to make a firm conjunction with the King; towards which they had all encouragement from the cardinal, if they made their address to the Queen, and her majesty would desire the cardinal to conduct it. And because many things must be

promised on the King's behalf to the Scots upon this their engagement, the Crown of France should give credit and engage as well that the Scots should perform all that they should promise, and that the King should make good whatsoever should be undertaken by him, or by the Queen on his behalf. 1645

175. This was the occasion and ground of sending Monsieur Mountrell into England, as is mentioned before; and he arrived there in January [1], with as much credit as the Queen Regent could give him to the Scots, and as the Queen of England could give him to the King; who likewise persuaded his majesty to believe that France was now become really kind to him, and would engage all its power to serve him, and that the cardinal was well assured that the Scots would behave themselves henceforward very honestly; which his majesty was willing to believe, when all other hopes had failed, and all his overtures made by him for a treaty had been rejected. But it was not long before he was undeceived, and discerned that this treaty was not like to produce better fruit than his former overtures had done. For the first information he received from Mountrell after his arrival in England, and after he had conferred with the Scots' commissioners, was, that they peremptorily insisted upon his majesty's condescension and promise for the establishment of the presbyterian government in England as it was in Scotland, without which, he said, there was no hope that they would ever join with his majesty; and therefore the envoy pressed his majesty to give them satisfaction therein, as the advice of the Queen Regent and the cardinal, and likewise of the Queen his wife; which exceedingly troubled the King. And the Scots alleged confidently that the Queen had expressly promised to sir Robert Murry, (a cunning and a dexterous man, who had been employed by them to her majesty,) that his majesty should consent thereunto. And they produced a writing signed by the Queen, and delivered to sir Robert Murry, wherein there were such expressions concerning religion as

[1] [In December. On Dec. 27 he wrote to the House of Lords for a pass to go to Oxford, on his way to Scotland, ostensibly to raise men for the French King's Scottish Guard. *Lords' Journals*, viii. 70, *Sixth Report of Hist. MSS. Commission*, 1877, p. 89. See note 2 on p. 166.]

1646 nothing pleased the King, and made him look upon that negotiation as rather a conspiracy against the Church between the Roman Catholics and the Presbyterians than an expedient for his restoration or preservation: and he was very much displeased with some persons of near trust about the Queen, to whose misinformation and advice he imputed what her majesty had done in that particular; and thereupon deferred not to let monsieur Mountrell know, that the alteration of the government in the Church was expressly against his conscience, and that he would never consent to it; that what the Queen his wife had seemed to promise proceeded from her not being well informed of the constitution of the government of England, which could not consist with that change that was proposed.

176. But his majesty offered to give all the assurance imaginable, and hoped that the Queen Regent would engage her royal word on his behalf in that particular, that the maintenance and support of the episcopal government in England should not in any degree shake, or bring the least prejudice to, that government that was then settled in Scotland; and farther he offered, that if the Scots should desire to have the free exercise of their religion, according to their own practice and custom, whilst they should be at any time in England, that he would assign them convenient places to that purpose in London, or any other part of the kingdom where they should desire it. Nor could all the importunity or arguments used by Mountrell prevail with his majesty to enlarge those concessions, or in the least to recede from the positiveness of his resolution; though he informed him of the dissatisfaction both the Scots' commissioners and the Presbyterians in London had in his majesty's resolution, and averseness from gratifying them in that which they always had and always would insist upon; and that the Scots were resolved to have no more to do with his majesty, but were resolved to agree with the Independents, from whom they could have better conditions than from him; and he feared such an agreement was too far advanced already.

177. Many answers and replies passed between the King and Mountrell in cipher, and with all imaginable secrecy; in which,

whatever reproaches were cast upon him afterwards, he always 1646
gave the King very clear and impartial information of the temper and of the discourses of those people with whom he was to transact. And though he did upon all occasions with much earnestness advise his majesty to consent to the unreasonable demands of the Scots, which he did believe he would be at last compelled to do, yet it is as certain that he did use all the arguments the talent of his understanding, (which was a very good one,) could suggest to him to persuade the Scots to be contented with what the King had so frankly offered and granted to them; and he did all he could to persuade and convince them that their own preservation, and that of their nation, depended upon the preservation of the King and the support of his regal authority. And it is very memorable, that, in answer to a letter which Mountrell writ to the King, and in which he persuaded his majesty to agree with the Scots upon their own demands, and, amongst other arguments, assured his majesty that the English Presbyterians were fully agreed with the Scots, (which his majesty believed they would never do,) the Scots having declared that they would never insist upon the settling any other government than was at that time practised in London; urging many other successes which they had at that time obtained; the King, after some expressions of his adhering to what he had formerly declared, used these words in his letter of the 21st of January to monsieur Mountrell: 'Let them never flatter themselves so with their good successes, without pretending to prophecy I will foretell their ruin except they agree with me, however it shall please God to dispose of me;' which they had great reason to remember after.

178. But because, though this treaty was begun, and proceeded so far as is recited, in the end of the present year, of the actions whereof we have given this account, yet it was carried on and did not conclude till some months after the next year was begun, we shall put an end to this relation at present, when the year 1645 [*O. S.*] expires, and resume what is to be come, in its place of the ensuing year.

'Molines, 19th of Sept., 1671.'

BOOK X[1].

1646 1. The actions of the last year were attended with so many dismal accidents and events, that there were no seeds of hope left to spring up in this ensuing ill year. For it was enough discerned how little success the treaty with the Scots would produce, which yet the King did not desire to put a period to, otherwise than by positively declaring that he would never consent to the alteration of the church-government, but was willing enough that they should entertain any other hopes, and was not himself without hope that by satisfying the ambition and interest of particular men he might mitigate the rigour of the Presbyterian faction; and to that purpose Monsieur Mountrell was gone from London to the Scots' army, then before Newark, having taken Oxford in his way[2], and so given an account to the King of his observations, and received from him such information and instruction as was necessary for the work in hand.

2. And in the mean time no ways were left untried to draw such a body of an army together as might enable his majesty to make some attempt upon the enemy; and if he could by all possible endeavours have drawn out of all his garrisons left a force of five thousand horse and foot, (which at that time seemed a thing not to be despaired of,) he did more desire to have lost his life in some signal attempt upon any part of the enemy's army, than to have enjoyed any conditions which he foresaw he was ever like to obtain by treaty; and he was not out of hope of a body of five thousand foot to be landed in Cornwall, which his letters from France confidently

[1] [This book commences in the MS. of the *Hist.* with a fresh pagination.]

[2] [The House of Lords ordered on Feb. 17 that he should have a pass to go to the King on his way to Scotland, 'but not to return to London again.' *Lords' Journals*, viii. 171.]

promised, and which had been so much expected and depended upon by the Prince, that it kept him from transporting himself into Silly till Fayrefax was marched (as hath been said before[1]) within little more than twenty miles of Pendennis. For sir Dudley Wyatt had been sent expressly from the lord Jermin to assure the Prince that such a body of five thousand foot were actually raised, under the command of Ruvigny, and should be embarked for Pendennis within less than a month; and the lord Jermin, in a postscript to that letter which he writ to the Chancellor by sir Dudley Wyatt, wished him not to be too strict in the computation of the month from the date of the letter, because there might be accidents of winds at that season; but he desired him to be confident that they should be all landed within the expiration of six weeks, and by that measure to conduct the resolutions, and to decline fighting upon that account. And after all this, it is as true that there was never a man at this time levied or designed for that expedition, only the name of Ruvigny (because he was of the religion, and known to be a good officer) had been mentioned in some loose discourse by the cardinal, as one who would be very fit to command any troops which might be sent into England for the relief of the King; which the other, according to his natural credulity, thought to be warrant enough to give both the King and the Prince that unreasonable expectation; the which, and many other of that great lord's negotiations and transactions, the succeeding and long continuing misfortunes kept from being ever after examined, or considered and reflected upon. 1646

3. [2] The Prince stayed in the isle of Silly from Wednesday the 4th of March till Thursday the 16th of April, the wind having continued so contrary to the main that the lords Capell and Hopton came not to him from Cornwall till the Saturday before; at which time likewise arrived a trumpeter from sir Thomas Fayrefax, with such a message from the Parliament to the Prince as might well be called a summons rather than an invi- April 11.

[1] [Book ix. § 149.]

[2] [The text is here taken up from a preceding separate portion of the MS., containing the narrative of the proceedings in the west, at p. 43.]

1646 April 12. tation; yet it was well it came not to Pendennis, where it would have found a party amongst the Prince's servants. The next morning, being Sunday, a fleet of twenty-seven or twenty-eight sail of ships encompassed the island; but within three or four hours, by a very notable tempest, which continued two days, they were dispersed. Upon this, and the clear determination of the weakness of the place, if it should be attacked by any considerable strength, (which both by the message and the attendants of it they had reason to apprehend,) together with the extreme scarcity of provisions which that island afforded, (and they had not been in that six weeks' stay supplied with victual for two days out of Cornwall, neither had any return from France upon the lord Culpeper's application to the Queen, which would every day grow more difficult by the season of the year,) his highness inclined to remove to Jarsy; against which it could be objected only of weight, the consideration of the King's being at London (which was strongly reported still) in a treaty; and then, that his remove, especially if by distress of weather he should be forced into France, might be prejudicial to the King; and therefore it would be reasonable to expect some advertisement from the King, or in what condition his majesty was. Hereupon his highness produced in council this ensuing letter from his majesty, which was writ shortly after the battle of Naseby[1], and which he had concealed till that morning from all the lords, and which truly I think was the only secret he had ever kept from the four which he had trusted:—

'Hereford, the 23d of June, 1645.

4. 'Charles,

'My late misfortunes remember me to command you that which I hope you shall never have occasion to obey; it is this: if I should at any time be taken prisoner by the rebels, I command you (upon my blessing) never to yield to any conditions that are dishonourable, unsafe for your person, or derogatory to regal authority, upon any considerations whatsoever, though it were for the saving of my life; which in such a case, (I am most confident,) is in greatest security by your constant resolution, and not a whit the more in danger for their threatening, unless thereby you should yield to their desires. But let their resolutions be never so barbarous, the saving of my life by complying with them would make

[1] ['Navesby, MS.]

me end my days with torture and disquiet of mind, not giving you my blessing, and cursing all the rest who are consenting to it. But your constancy will make me die cheerfully, praising God for giving me so gallant a son, and heaping my blessings on you; which you may be confident (in such a case) will light on you. I charge you to keep this letter still safe by you, until you shall have cause to use it; and then, and not till then, to shew it to all your council; it being my command to them as well as you; whom I pray God to make as prosperously glorious as any of the predecessors ever were of 1646

'Your loving father,

'Charles R.'

5. After the reading this letter, and a consideration of the probability that the rebels would make some attempt upon his highness there, and the impossibility of resisting such an attempt in the condition the island then stood, it was by his highness with great earnestness proposed, and by the whole council (except the earl of Barkshire) unanimously advised, that the opportunity should be then laid hold on, whilst the rebels' ships were scattered, and that his highness should embark for Jarsy; which he did accordingly on Thursday; and on the next day, April 16. being the 17th of April, with a most prosperous wind landed at April 17. Jarsy; from whence the same night they sent an express to the Queen of the Prince's safe arrival in that island, and likewise letters to St. Malloes and Havre de Grace, to advertise the lord Culpeper of the same; who received the information very seasonably, lying then at Havre with two frigates in expectation of a wind for Silly, and with command to the Prince immediately to remove from thence. After the Prince had taken an account of this island, both himself and all their lordships were of opinion that it was a place of the greatest security, benefit, and conveniency to repose in, till upon a clear information and observation of the King's condition and state of England he should find a fit opportunity to stir, that could have been desired and wished for; and the Prince himself seemed to have the greatest averseness and resolution against going into France, except in case of danger of surprisal by the rebels, that could be imagined. In few days Mr. Progers, who had been despatched before (shortly upon the lord Culpeper's coming) from Paris for Silly, being hindered by contrary winds till he received the

1646 news of the Prince's being at Jarsy, came thither, and brought this following letter from her majesty to the Chancellor, in cipher :—

'Paris, April the 5th, 1646.

6. 'My lord Culpeper must witness for me that I have patiently, and at large, heard all that he could say concerning the condition of Silly, and all that has been proposed for the rendering of the Prince of Wales his abode there safe; yet I must confess to you that I am so far from being satisfied in that point, that I shall not sleep in quiet until I shall hear that the Prince of Wales shall be removed from thence. It is confessed it is not sufficiently fortified, and is accessible in divers places; and the manning the works will require a thousand men more than you have, or, for ought I see, can procure; neither can you be confident that the loss of Cornwall may not suddenly have a dangerous influence upon that garrison, most of your soldiers being of that country. The power of the Parliament at sea is so great that you cannot rely upon the seasonable and safe conveyance of such proportions of provisions as so great a garrison will require. I need not remember you of what importance to the King and all his party the safety of the Prince his person is; if he should fall into the rebels' hands, the whole would thereby become desperate; therefore I must importunately conjure you to intend this work, as the principal service you can do to the King, me, or the Prince. Culpeper will tell you how I have strained to assist you with present provisions, shipping, and money, necessary for the Prince his remove to Jersey; where, be confident of it, he shall want nothing. Besides, for satisfaction of others, I have moved the Queen Regent to give assurance that if the Prince in his way to Jersey should be necessitated by contrary winds, or the danger of the Parliament shipping, to touch in France, he should have all freedom and assistance from hence in his immediate passage thither; which is granted with great cheerfulness and civility, and will be subscribed under the hands of the French King and Queen, my brother, and cardinal Mazarine: therefore I hope all scruples are now satisfied. Culpeper is hastening to you with good frigates; but if you shall find any danger before their arrival, I shall rely upon your care not to omit any opportunity to prevent that danger, according to the resolution in council which Culpeper hath acquainted me with; for which I thank you. I need not tell you how acceptable this service will be to the King, who in every letter presses me to write to you concerning my son's safety; nor that I am, and always will be, most constantly,

'Your assured friend,

'Henriette Marie R.'

7. The Prince and council[1] were very glad at the receipt of this letter, conceiving that they had now done all that could be required at their hands; though they were advertised at their

[1] [Altered from 'We,' and the third person substituted for the first in the lines following.]

first landing there[1], that there was still an expectation of the Prince in France, and that he would be speedily importuned from thence; which they could not believe: but as soon as the lord Culpeper came, they plainly discerned that letter had been written upon advice to Silly, foreseeing that an immediate journey into France would not have been submitted to; and that the instrument mentioned for his highness' quiet and uninterrupted passage through France to Jarsy was only a colour, the sooner to have invited the Prince to have landed there, if there had been any accidents in his passage; but that the resolution was that he should not then have come to Jarsy, as it was now that he should quickly come from thence; to which purpose, shortly after, came most importunate letters from the Queen. And it seems, howsoever all the late letters from the King to the Prince before his coming out of England were for his repair into Denmark, his majesty, upon what reasons I know not, conceived his highness to be in France; for after his coming [to Jersey[2],] this following letter was sent to him by the lord Jermin, in whose cipher it was writ, and deciphered by his lordship:— 1646

'Oxford, the 22d of March.

8. 'Charles,

'Hoping that this will find you safe with your mother, I think fit to write this short but necessary letter to you. Then know, that your being where you are, safe from the power of the rebels, is, under God, either my greatest security or my certain ruin. For your constancy to religion, obedience to me, and to the rules of honour, will make these insolent men begin to hearken to reason, when they shall see their injustice not like to be crowned with quiet: but if you depart from those grounds for which I have all this time fought, then your leaving this kingdom will be (with too much probability) called sufficient proof for many of the slanders heretofore laid upon me: wherefore, once again, I command you upon my blessing to be constant to your religion, neither hearkening to Roman superstitions, nor the seditious and schismatical doctrines of the Presbyterians and Independents; for know that a persecuted church is not thereby less pure, though less fortunate. For all other things I command you to be totally directed by your mother, and

[1] [Altered from 'here;' this part of the *History* having been written in Jersey.]

[2] ['thither,' altered from 'hither,' MS.]

1646 (as subordinate to her) [by[1]] the remainder of that council which I put to you at your parting from hence. And so God bless you.

'Charles R.'

9. This letter, and the very passionate commands from the Queen, together with what was privately said to him by the lord Culpeper, who from his being at Paris had changed his former opinions, and was (though he expressed it tenderly, finding a general aversion) positive for his going, wrought so far on the Prince, that he discovered an inclination[2] to the journey; whereupon the council presented at large to him the inconveniences and dangers that naturally might be supposed would attend such a resolution: they remembered the carriage of the French since the beginning of this rebellion; how it had been originally fomented, and afterwards countenanced, by them, and that they had never in the least degree assisted the King; that there was no evidence that at that time they were more inclined to him than to the rebels; that it would be necessary they should make some public declaration on his majesty's behalf, before the heir apparent of the crown should put himself into their hands. There was nothing omitted that could be thought of, to render that resolution at least to be of that importance that it ought to be throughly weighed and considered before executed; and so in the end they prevailed with
May 11. him (since at that time it was not known where the King was) to send the lords Capell and Culpeper again to the Queen, to present the weightiness of the matter to her majesty. One of their instructions was as follows:—

10. 'You shall inform her majesty that we have, with all duty and submission, considered her letters to us concerning our speedy repair into the kingdom of France; the which direction we conceive to be grounded upon her majesty's apprehension of danger to our person by any residence here; the contrary whereof we believe her majesty will be no sooner advertised of, than she will hold us excused for not giving that present obedience which we desire always to yield to the least intimation of her majesty. And therefore, you shall humbly acquaint her majesty, that we have great reason to believe this island to be defensible against a greater force than we suppose probable to be brought against it; that the inhabitants of the island express as much cheerfulness, unanimity, and resolution for the defence of our person by their whole carriage, and

[1] ['to,' MS.] [2] [Altered from 'more than an ordinary inclination.']

particularly by a protestation voluntarily undertaken by them, as can be desired; and that if, contrary to expectation, the rebels should take the island, we can from the castle (a place in itself of very great strength) with the least hazard remove ourself into France; which in case of eminent danger we resolve to do. That our security being thus stated, we beseech her majesty to consider whether it be not absolutely necessary, before any thought of our remove from hence be entertained, that we have as clear an information as may be gotten of the condition of our royal father, and the affections of England; of the resolutions of the Scots in England, and the strength of the lord Montrose in Scotland; of the affairs in Ireland, and the conclusion of the treaty there; that so, upon a full and mature prospect upon the whole, we may so dispose of our person as may be most for the benefit and advantage of our royal father; or patiently attend such an alteration and conjuncture as may administer a greater advantage than is yet offered; and whether our remove out of the dominions of our royal father (except upon such a necessity, or apparent visible conveniency) may not have an influence upon the affections of the three kingdoms to the disadvantage of his majesty.' 1646

11. Within two days after the two lords were gone for Paris, sir Dudley Wyatt arrived with the news of the King's being gone out of Oxford before the break of day, only with two servants, but to what place uncertain: and it was believed by the Queen, as she said in her letter to the Prince [1], that he was gone for Ireland or to the Scots; and therefore her majesty renewed her commands for the Prince's immediate repair into France; whereas the chief reason before was, that he would put himself into the Scots' hands, and therefore it was necessary that his highness should be in France, to go in the head of those forces which should be immediately sent out of that kingdom to assist his majesty. May 12.

12. The two lords found the Queen much troubled that the Prince himself came not; and declared herself not to be moved with any reasons that were or could be given for his stay, and that her resolution was positive and unalterable: yet they prevailed with her to respite any positive declaration till she might receive full advertisement of the King's condition, who was by this time known to be in the Scotch army [2].

[1] [Dated May 17. Printed in full in *Calend. Clar. S. P.* i. 317.]

[2] [The narrative is thus continued at 46 of this portion of the *Hist.*, and at p. 65 of Edgeman's transcript of a portion of books ix, x, which is described in the note at the beginning of the ninth book.

'After some three weeks, Mountrell returned from Newcastle, with

1646 13. It is remembered before[1], that the Prince upon his arrival at Silly sent a gentleman to Ireland to the marquis of Ormonde, as well that he might be punctually informed of the state of that kingdom, (of which there were several reports,) as that he might receive from thence a company or two of foot, for the better guard of that island; which he foresaw would be necessary, whether he should remain there or not. The gentleman had a very quick passage to Dublin, and came thither very

information (which Mr. Ashburnham's coming from him at the same time sufficiently discovered) that the King was in truth in no better condition than of a prisoner, and that his design was to make an escape from them. This again was made a great argument for the necessity of the Prince's hasty remove, which was so contrary to all the grounds before laid down: to which was added some private instructions the King should send by word of mouth by Mountrell; though Mr. Ashburnham (who might be presumed to know as much of the King's mind as Mountrell) professed to my lords Capell and Culpeper, that he thought the Prince's coming into France at that time would be very prejudicial to the King's affairs. But the cardinal Mazaryne had sent the Queen word that he had intelligence from London that the Prince was to be given up by some of his own followers for £5000; and therefore the resolution was fixed, and the lord Jermin sent to Jarsy to bring his highness to the Queen. What passed
§§ 37–48. after his coming thither is faithfully set down by itself. I cannot omit the remembering, that though the lord Culpeper was instructed, when he went from Silly, to propose to her majesty some other ways for the Prince's support, besides the depending upon her royal bounty, as particularly to endeavour the borrowing a reasonable sum of money of the duke of Espernon; and both the lords who went from Jarsy had particular directions to receive her majesty's approbation for sending to the King of Denmark to borrow £20,000, and of other expedients of the same nature which we had reason to believe would prove very successful, though none of them could be undertaken, because the very attempt would be matter of charge, which without her majesty's favour the Prince could not disburse; [yet[2]] she was not pleased to approve of any course proposed, that he might have no hope of subsistence but by her, which she believed would bring him to her.

'I conceive I have omitted very few particulars in this plain narration which in any degree had reference to the public: particular injuries and indignities to ourselves, I have purposely omitted very many: and with modesty enough I may believe that they who are the severest censurers of our whole carriage would not have committed fewer mistakes if they had been in our places and conditions.—Jarsy, this 31st of July,' [1646.]

[1] [Not in the *Hist.*, but only in the outline printed in the *Life* of the proposed contents of part iv. of that work.]

[2] ['but,' MS.]

quickly after the peace was agreed upon with the Irish Catholics, and found the lord Digby there; who, after his enterprise and disbanding in Scotland, had first transported himself into the Isle of Man, and from thence into Ireland; where he had been received with great kindness and generosity by the marquis of Ormonde, as a man who had been in so eminent a post in the King's council and affairs. He was a person of so rare a composition by nature and by art, (for nature alone could never have reached to it,) that he was so far from being ever dismayed upon any misfortune, (and greater variety of misfortunes never befell any man,) that he quickly recollected himself so vigorously, that he did really believe his condition to be improved by that ill accident, and that he had an opportunity thereby to gain a new stock of reputation and honour; and so he no sooner heard of the Prince his being in the isle of Silly, and of his condition, and the condition of that place, than he presently concluded that the Prince his presence[1] in Ireland would settle and compose all the factions there, reduce the kingdom to his majesty's service, and oblige the Pope's nuncio, who was an enemy to the peace, to quit his ambitious designs. The Lord Lieutenant had so good an opinion of that expedient, that he could have been very well contented that, when his highness had been forced to leave England, he had rather chosen to have made Ireland than Silly his retreat; but, being a wise man, and having many difficulties before him in view, and the apprehension of many contingencies which might increase those difficulties, he would not take upon him to give advice in 1646

[1] [The text in the MS. of the *Hist.* ends here with the words 'his presence;' with the added reference 'vi[d.] p. 14.' The text of the printed narrative from this point to the end of § 20 is taken from a separate paper which cannot now be found among Clarendon's MSS., but which appears to have been collated for the edition printed in 1826, where (vol. v. p. 371) it is thus described, 'The following account of the movements of Lord Digby is taken from another MS., containing only the character and conduct of that lord, and written by Lord Clarendon at Montpelier, April, 1669. It is already printed in the supplement to the third volume of the *Clarendon State Papers*.' The spelling of proper names is altered to the forms used by Clarendon; in other respects the text is here given as printed in that last edition for which the original appears to have been collated.]

1646 a point of so great importance; but, forthwith, having a couple of frigates ready, he caused an hundred men with their officers to be presently put on board, according to his highness's desire; and the lord Digby (who always concluded that that was fit to be done which his first thoughts suggested to him, and never doubted the execution of any thing which he once thought fit to be attempted) put himself on board those vessels; resolving that upon the strength of his own reason he should be able to persuade the Prince, and the council which attended him, forthwith to quit Silly, and to repair to Dublin; which he did not doubt might be brought to pass in that way that would have been grateful to the Lord Lieutenant[1]. But, by the sudden remove of the Prince from Silly, the two frigates from Dublin missed finding him there; and that lord, whose order they were obliged to observe, made all the haste he could to Jarsy; where
April 27. he arrived well, and found the Prince there, with many other of his friends who attended his highness, the two lords being gone but the day before to attend the Queen[2]. He lost no time in informing his highness of the happy state and condition of Ireland; that the peace was concluded, and an army of twelve thousand men ready to be transported into England; of the great zeal and affection the Lord Lieutenant had for his service; and that if his highness would repair thither, he should find the whole kingdom devoted to his service; and thereupon positively advised him, without farther deliberation, to put himself aboard those frigates, which were excellent sailers, and fit for his secure transportation.

[1] [The following passage is here said to be added in the MS.:—

'The Prince, within a fortnight after his coming to Silly, which was in March, found the place not so strong as he had understood it to be; that the island was very poor, and that he should not be able to draw any provisions thither from Cornwall, by which commerce those islands had still been supported; he resolved therefore, before the year advanced further, when the seas were like to be more infested with the enemy's ships, to transport himself to Jarsy; which he did very happily, and found it to be a place in all respects very fit to reside in, till he might better understand the present condition of England, and receive some positive advice from the King his father.']

[2] [See Hoskins' *Charles II in the Channel Islands*, 1854, i. 388.]

The Prince told him that it was a matter of greater im- 1646
portance than was fit to be executed upon so short deliberation; that he no sooner arrived at Jarsy than he received letters from the Queen his mother, requiring him forthwith to come to Paris, where all things were provided for his reception; that he had sent two of the lords of the council to the Queen, to excuse him for not giving ready obedience to her commands, and to assure her that he was in a place of unquestionable security, in which he might safely expect to hear from the King his father before he took any other resolution: that it would be very incongruous now to remove from thence, and to go into Ireland, before his messengers' return from Paris; in which time he might reasonably hope to hear from the King himself; and so wished him to have patience till the matter was more ripe for a determination. This reasonable answer gave him no satisfaction: he commended the Prince's averseness from going into France, which, he said, was the most pernicious counsel that ever could be given; that it was a thing the King his father abhorred, and never would consent to; and that he would take upon himself to write to the Queen, and to give her such solid advice and reasons that should infallibly convert her from that desire, and that should abundantly satisfy her that his going into Ireland was absolutely necessary; but that a little delay in the execution of it might deprive them of all the fruit which was to be expected from that journey; and therefore renewed his advice and importunity for losing no more time, but immediately to embark; which when he saw was not like to prevail with his highness, he repaired to one of those of the Privy Council who attended the Prince, with whom he had a particular friendship, and lamented to him the loss of such an occasion, which would inevitably restore the King; who would be equally ruined if the Prince went into France, of which he spake with all the detestation imaginable; and said, he was so far satisfied in his conscience of the benefit that would redound from the one, and the ruin which would inevitably fall out by the other, that, he said, if the person with whom he held this conference would concur with him, he would carry the Prince into Ireland even

1646 without and against his consent. The other person answered, that it was not to be attempted without his consent; nor could he imagine it possible to bring it to pass, if they should both endeavour it. He replied, that he would invite the Prince on board the frigates to a collation; and that he knew well he could so commend the vessels to him that his own curiosity would easily invite him to a view of them; and that as soon as he was on board, he would cause the sails to be hoisted up, and make no stay till he came into Ireland.

14. The other was very angry with him for entertaining such imaginations, and told him, they neither agreed with his wisdom nor his duty; and left him in despair of his conjunction, and at the same time of being able to compass it. He had no sooner discharged himself of this imagination, but in the instant (as he had a most pregnant fancy) he entertained another with the same vigour, and resolved, with all possible expedition, to find himself at Paris, not making the least question but that he should convert the Queen from any farther thought of sending for the Prince into France, and as easily obtain her consent and approbation for his repairing into Ireland; and he made as little doubt, with the Queen's help and by his own dexterity, to prevail with France to send a good supply of money by him into Ireland; by which he should acquire a most universal reputation, and be the most welcome man alive to the Lord Lieutenant; and, transported with this happy auguration, he left Jarsy; leaving at the same time his two ships, and his soldiers, and half a dozen gentlemen of quality, (who, upon his desire, and many promises, had kept him company from Ireland,) without one penny of money to subsist on during his absence.

15. As soon as he came to Paris, and had seen the Queen, (whom he found very well inclined to do all she could for the relief of Ireland, but resolute to have the Prince her son immediately with her, notwithstanding all the reasons pressed against it by the lords of the King's Council who had been sent from Jarsy,) he attended the cardinal, who understood him very well, and knew his foible, and received him with all the ceremony and demonstration of respect he could possibly express; entered

upon the discourse of England; celebrated the part which he had acted upon that stage in so many actions of courage and sagacity, of the highest prudence and circumspection, with an indefatigable industry and fidelity. He told him, that France found too late their own error; that they had been well content to see the King's great puissance weakened by his domestic troubles, which they wished only should keep him from being able to hurt his neighbours; but that they never had desired to see him at the mercy of his own rebels, which they saw now was like to be the case; and they were therefore resolved to wed his interest in such a way and manner as the Queen of England should desire; in which he well knew how much her majesty would depend upon his [lordship's] counsel. 1646

16. He [the cardinal] said it was absolutely necessary, since the Crown of France resolved to wed the King's interest, that the person of the Prince of Wales should reside in France; that the method he had thought of proceeding in was, that the Queen of England should make choice of such a person whom she thought best affected, and best qualified for such an employment, whom the King [of France] would immediately send as his extraordinary ambassador to the King and to the Parliament; that he should govern himself wholly by such instructions as the Queen should give him, which, he knew, would be his [lordship's] work to prepare; that all things should be made ready as soon as the Queen would nominate the ambassador; and that, upon the arrival of the Prince of Wales in any part of France, as soon as notice should be sent to the Court of it, (for which due preparation should be made,) the ambassador should be in the same manner despatched for England, with one only instruction from France; which should be, that he should demand a speedy answer from the Parliament, whether they would satisfy the demands he[1] had made; which if they should refuse to do, he should forthwith, in the King his master's name, declare a war against them, and immediately leave the kingdom, and return home; and then there should be quickly such an army ready as was worthy for the Prince of Wales to venture his own person

[1] ['the French Court,' edit. 1826.]

1646 in; and that he should have the honour to redeem and restore his father.

17. This discourse ended, he [the lord Digby] wanted not language to extol the generosity and the magnanimity of the resolution, and to pay the cardinal all his compliments in his own coin, and from thence to enter upon the condition of Ireland; in which the cardinal presently interrupted him, and told him he knew well he was come from thence, and meant to return thither, and likewise the carriage of the nuncio: that the marquis of Ormonde was too brave a gentleman, and had merited too much of his master to be deserted, and France was resolved not to do its business by halves, but to give the King's affairs an entire relief in all places; that he should carry a good supply of money with him into Ireland, and that arms and ammunition should be speedily sent after him, and such direction to their agent there as should draw off all the Irish from the nuncio who had not entirely given themselves up to the Spanish interest.

18. The noble person had that which he most desired; he was presently converted, and undertook to the Queen that he would presently convert all at Jarsy, and that the Prince should obey all her commands; and entered into consultation with her upon the election of an ambassador, and what instructions should be prepared for him; which he took upon himself to
May 19. prepare. Monsieur Bellievre was named by the Queen, whom the cardinal had designed for that office. The cardinal approved the instructions, and caused six thousand pistoles to be paid to him, who was to go to Ireland; and though it was a much less sum than he had promised himself from the magnificent expressions the cardinal had used to him, yet it provided well for his own occasions; so he left the Queen with his usual professions and confidence, and accompanied those lords to Jarsy who were to attend upon his highness with her majesty's orders for the Prince's repair into France; for the advancement whereof the cardinal was so solicitous, that he writ a letter to the old prince of Condé, (which he knew he would forthwith send to the Queen, as he did,) in which he said, that he had received very certain advertisement out of

England, that there were some persons about the Prince of Wales in Jarsy who had undertaken to deliver his highness up into the hands of the Parliament for twenty thousand pistoles; and this letter was forthwith sent by the Queen to overtake the lords, that it might be shewed to the Prince, and that they who attended upon him might discern what would be thought of them if they dissuaded his highness from giving a present obedience to his mother's commands. 1646

19. As soon as they came to Jarsy, the lord Digby used all the means he could to persuade his friend to concur in his advice for the Prince's immediate repair into France. He told him of all that had passed between the cardinal and him, not leaving out any of the expressions of the high value his eminence had of his particular person: that an ambassador was chosen by his advice, and his instructions drawn by him, from no part of which the ambassador durst swerve; (and, which is very wonderful, he did really believe for that time that he had both nominated the ambassador, and that his instructions would be exactly observed by him; so great a power he had always over himself, that he could believe any thing which was grateful to him;) that a war would be presently proclaimed upon their refusal to do what the ambassador required, and that there wanted nothing to the expediting this great affair but the Prince's immediate repairing into France without farther delay; there being no other question concerning that matter than whether his highness should stay in Jarsy, where there could be no question of his security, until he could receive express direction from the King his father; and therefore he conjured his friend to concur in that advice; which would be very grateful to the Queen, and be attended with much benefit to himself; telling him how kind her majesty was to him, and how confident she was of his service, and that if he should be of another opinion it would not hinder the Prince from going, who, he knew, was resolved to obey his mother; and so concluded his discourse with those arguments which he thought were like to make most impression on him, and gave him the instructions by which the ambassador was to be guided.

1646 20. His friend, who in truth loved him very heartily, though no man better knew his infirmities, told him, whatever the Prince would be disposed to do, he could not change his opinion in point of counsel until the King's pleasure might be known: he put him in mind, how he had been before deceived at Oxford by the conte de Harcourt, who was an ambassador likewise, as was then thought, named by ourselves, and whose instructions he had likewise drawn; and yet he could not but well remember how foully that business had been managed, and how disobligingly [he] himself had been treated by that ambassador; and therefore he could not but wonder that the same artifices should again prevail with him, and that he could imagine that the instructions he had drawn would be at all considered, or pursued, farther than they might contribute to what the cardinal for the present designed; of the integrity whereof they had no evidence, but had reason enough to suspect [it].

21. [1]The lord Capell and the lord Culpeper stayed at Paris with the Queen full three weeks; having prevailed with her only to suspend her present commands for the Prince his remove from Jarsy, until she should have clear intelligence where the King was, and how he was treated, though she declared a positive resolution that he should come to Paris, let the intelligence be what it could be; and in the end, they were well assured that his majesty had put himself into the Scots' army as it lay before Newark; and that as soon as he came thither he caused that garrison to deliver the town into the hands of the Scots, and that thereupon the Scots marched presently away to Newcastle: that they had pressed the King to do many things which he had absolutely refused to do; and that thereupon they had put very strict guards upon his majesty, and would not permit any man to repair to him or to speak with him; so that his majesty looked upon himself as a prisoner, and resolved to make another escape from them as soon as he could. Mr. Ashburnham, who had attended upon him in his journey from Oxford as his sole servant, was forbid to come

[1] [The text is here taken up again from the MS. of book x, at p. 1.]

any more near him; and if he had not put himself on board 1646
a vessel then at Newcastle, and bound for France, the Scots would have delivered him up to the Parliament. Mons. Mountrell, the French envoy, pretended that they were so incensed against him for briskly expostulating with them for their ill treatment of the King, that it was no longer safe for him to remain in their quarters, and more dangerous to return to London; and therefore he had likewise procured a Dutch ship to land him in France, and was come to Paris before the lords returned to Jarsy.

22. The Queen thought now she had more reason to be confirmed in her former resolution for the speedy remove of the Prince, and it was pretended that he had brought a letter from the King, which was deciphered by the lord Jermin, in which he said that he did believe that the Prince could not be safe any where but with the Queen, and therefore wished that if he were not there already he should be speedily sent for; and Mountrell professed to have a message by word of mouth to the same purpose; whereas Mr. Ashburnham, who left the King but the day before Mountrell, and was as entirely trusted by the King as any man in England, brought no such message; and confessed to the lord Capell that he thought it very pernicious to the King that the Prince should come into France in that conjuncture, and before it was known how the Scots would deal with him, and that the King's opinion of the convenience of his coming into France could proceed from nothing but the thought of his insecurity in Jarsy. The lord Capell offered to undertake to make a journey himself to Newcastle, and to receive the King's positive commands, which he was sure would be submitted to and obeyed by all the council as well as by himself: but the Queen was positive that without any more delay the Prince should immediately repair to her; and to that purpose she sent the lord Jermin, (who was governor of Jarsy,) together with the lord Digby, the lord Wentworth, the lord Wilmott, and other lords and gentlemen, who, with the two lords who had been sent to her by the Prince, should make haste to Jarsy to see her commands executed. And whilst

1646 they are upon their journey thither, it will be seasonable to inquire how the King came to involve himself in that perplexity, out of which he was never able afterwards to recover his liberty and freedom.

23. Mons. Mountrell was a person utterly unknown to me, nor had I ever intercourse or correspondence with him; so that what I shall say of him cannot proceed from the effect of affection or prejudice, and if I shall say any thing for his vindication from those reproaches which he did and yet lies under, both with the English and Scotch nation, countenanced enough by the discountenance he received from the cardinal after his return, when he was, after the first account he had given of his negotiation, restrained from coming to the Court, and forbid to remain in Paris, and lay under a formed, declared
1651 dislike till his death, which with grief of mind shortly ensued:
Apr. 27. —(but as it is no unusual hardheartedness in such chief ministers to sacrifice such instruments, how innocent soever, to their own dark purposes, so it is probable that temporary cloud would soon have vanished, and that it was only cast over him that he might thereby be secluded from the conversation of the English Court, which must have been reasonably very inquisitive, and might thereby have discovered somewhat which the other Court was carefully to conceal:—) I say, if what I here set down of that transaction shall appear some vindication of that gentleman from those imputations under which his memory remains blasted, it can be imputed only to the love of truth, which ought, in common honesty, to be preserved in history as the soul of it, towards all persons who come to be mentioned in it; and since I have in my hands all the original letters which passed from him to the King, and the King's answers and directions thereupon, or such authentic copies thereof as have been by myself examined with the originals[1], I

[1] [Copies are preserved among Clarendon's MSS., and all the letters were printed in vol. ii. of the *Clar. State Papers* in 1773. Montereul, *al.* Montreuil, remained afterwards in Scotland as French agent from Feb. 1647 to July 1648, and a list of his despatches to Mazarin, beginning Jan. 11, 1647 at Newcastle, and ending Aug. 31, 1648 at London, is printed pp. 696-8 of the *39th Report of the Dep. Keeper of Public Records*, 1878.]

take it to be a duty incumbent on me to absolve him from any guilt with which his memory lies unjustly charged, and to make a candid interpretation of those actions which appear to have resulted from ingenuity and upright intentions, how unsuccessful soever. 1646

24. He was then a young gentleman of parts very equal to the trust the cardinal reposed in him, and to the employment he gave him, and of a nature not inclined to be made use of in ordinary dissimulation and cozenage. Whilst he took his measures only from the Scots' commissioners at London, and from those Presbyterians with whom he had opportunity to converse, he did not give the King the least encouragement to expect a conjunction, or any compliance, from the one or the other, upon any cheaper price or condition than the whole alteration of the government of the Church by bishops, and an entire conformity to the Covenant; and he used all the arguments which occurred to him to persuade his majesty that all other hopes of agreement with them were desperate; and when he saw his majesty unmoveable in that particular, and resolute to undergo the utmost event of war before he would wound his peace of mind and conscience with such an odious concession, he undertook that journey we mentioned in the end of the last year, § 1. to discover whether the same rude and rigid spirit possessed the chief officers of the army, and that committee of estate that always remained with the army, as governed those commissioners who remained at Westminster.

25. The Scots' army was then before Newark; and, in his passage thither, he waited upon the King at Oxford; and was confirmed in what he had reason before to be confident of, that it was absolutely impossible ever to prevail with his majesty to give up the Church, to the most impetuous demands they could make, or to the greatest necessity himself could be environed with; but as to any other concessions which might satisfy their ambition or their profit, which were always powerful and irresistible spells upon that people, he had ample authority and commission to comply with the most extravagant demands from persons like to make good what they undertook, except such

1646 propositions as might be mischievous to the marquis of Mountrose; whom [the King][1] resolved never to desert, nor one who had joined with and assisted him; all which he desired to unite to those who might now be persuaded to serve him. His majesty, for his better information, recommended him to some persons who had then command in the Scots' army, of whose affections and inclinations to his service he had as much confidence at least as he ought to have, and of their credit and courage and interest a greater than was due to them.

26. When he came to the army, and after he had endeavoured to undeceive those who had been persuaded to believe that a peremptory and obstinate insisting upon the alteration of the church-government (the expectation and assurance whereof had indeed first enabled them to make that expedition) would at last prevail over the King's spirit, as it had done in Scotland, he found those in whom the power, at least the command of the army, was, much more moderate than he expected, and the committee which presided in the councils rather devising and projecting expedients how they might recede from the rigour of their former demands than peremptory to adhere to them, and willing that he should believe that they stayed for the coming of the Chancellor out of Scotland, who was daily expected, before they would declare their resolution; not that they were, for the present, without one. They were very much pleased that the King offered and desired to come to them, and remain in the army with them, if he might be secured of a good reception for himself, and security for his servants who should attend him and his friends who should resort to him; and the principal officers of the army spake of that as a thing they so much wished, that it could be in nobody's power to hinder it, if there were any who would attempt it; and they who had the greatest power in the conduct of the most secret councils took pains to be thought to have much franker resolutions in that particular than they thought yet seasonable to express in direct undertakings; and employed those who were known to be most entirely trusted by them, and some of those who had been recommended to him

[1] ['he,' MS.]

by the King, to assure him that he might confidently advise his majesty to repair to the army, upon the terms himself had proposed; and that they would send a good body of their horse to meet his majesty at any place he should appoint, to conduct him in safety to them. Upon which encouragement he prepared a paper to be signed by himself, and sent to the King as his engagement, and shewed it to those who had been most clear to him in their expressions of duty to the King; and which, being approved by them, he sent by the other who had appeared to be trusted by those who were in the highest trust, to be communicated to them, who had in a manner excused themselves for being more reserved towards him, as if required in that conjuncture of their affairs, when there evidently appeared to be the most hostile jealousy between the Independent army and them. When the paper was likewise returned to him with approbation after their perusal, he sent it to the King, in these words, faithfully translated out of the original: 1646

27[1]. ['I do promise in the name of the King and Queen Regent, (my master and mistress,) and by virtue of the powers that I have from their majesties, that if the King of Great Britain shall put himself into the Scots' army, he shall be there received as their natural sovereign, and that he shall be with them in all freedom of his conscience and honour; and that all such of his subjects and servants as shall be there with him shall be safely and honourably protected in their persons; and that the said Scots shall really and effectually join with the said King of Great Britain, and also receive all such persons as shall come in unto him, and join with them for his majesty's preservation: and that they shall protect all his majesty's party to the utmost of their power, as his majesty will command all those under his obedience to do the like to them; and that they shall employ their armies and forces to assist his majesty in the procuring of a happy and well-grounded peace, for the good of his majesty and his said kingdoms, and in recovery of his majesty's just rights. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal this first of April 1646.

'*De Montereul, Résident pour sa majestée très-Chrétienne en Ecosse.*']

28. Many days had not passed after the sending that express when he found such chagrin[2] and tergiversation in some of those

[1] [This paper is not inserted in the MS. of the *History*, there being only this note, 'vid. the engagement.' And it is therefore taken from a copy in the handwriting of W. Edgeman (Hyde's secretary), certified by Sir E. Nicholas to be correct, which is preserved among the Clarendon MSS.]

[2] ['shaggeringe,' MS.]

1646 he had treated with, one man denying what he had said to himself, and another disclaiming the having given such a man authority to say that from him which the other still avowed he had done, that Mountrell thought himself obliged, with all speed, to advertise his majesty of the foul change, and to dissuade him from venturing his person in the power of such men: but the express who carried that letter was taken prisoner, and though he made his escape, and preserved his letter, he could not proceed in his journey, and was compelled to return to him who sent him; and by that time, he having informed the committee what he had done to vindicate himself from being made a property by them to betray the King, and expressed a deep resentment of the injury done to the King his master and to himself in their receding from what they had promised, they appeared again to be of another temper, and very much to desire his majesty's presence in their army; and to that purpose they promised, as an unanimous resolution, that they would send a considerable party of horse to meet his majesty at Burton upon Trent; and that they could not advance farther with the whole party, but that some horse should be sent to wait upon his majesty at Bosworth, which is the middle way between Burton and Harborough, whither they hoped his own horse would be able to convoy him securely; they desired the King to appoint the day, and they would not fail to be there. They wished that when their troops should meet his majesty, that he would tell them that he was going into Scotland; upon which they would find themselves obliged to attend him into their army, without being able to discover any thing of a treaty; of which the Parliament ought yet to receive no advertisement. Of all which Mountrell gave the King a very full and plain narration, (together with what he had written before,) by his letter of the 15th of the same April to Secretary Nicholas; and in the same letter he informed his majesty that they did not desire that any of those forces which had followed the King's party should join with them, no, nor so much as those horse that should have accompanied his majesty should remain in their army with him: that they had with much ado agreed that the two princes (for

his majesty, upon prince Rupert's humble submission, was reconciled to both his nephews) might follow the King, with such other of his servants as were not excepted from pardon; and that those three might stay with his majesty until the Parliament of England should demand them; in which case they could not refuse to deliver them, but that they would first furnish them with some means of getting beyond seas. 1646

29. The King had proposed that there might be a union between them and the marquis of Mountrose, and that his forces might be joined with their army; which they had said they could not consent to, with reference to the person of Mountrose, who, after so much blood spilt by him of many of the greatest families, they thought could not be safe amongst them: whereupon the King had declared that he would send him his extraordinary ambassador into France, which they appeared not to contradict; but had now changed their mind; of which Mountrell likewise gave an account in the same letter, that they could not give their consent that the marquis of Mountrose should go ambassador into France, but into any other place he might; and that they again, though without limiting the time, insisted upon settling the Presbyterian government; and he concluded his letter with these words, 'I will say no more but this, that his majesty and you know the Scots better than I do: I represent these things nakedly to you, as I am obliged to do; I have not taken upon me the boldness to give any counsel to his majesty; yet, if he hath any other refuge or means to make better conditions, I think he ought not to accept of these; but if he see all things desperate every where else, and that he and his servants cannot be secure with his Parliament of England, I dare yet assure him, that, though he and his servants may not be here with all that satisfaction perhaps which he might desire, yet he, especially, shall be as secure as possible [1].'

30. In another letter dated the next day after (the 16th of April) to the same Secretary [2], he hath these words; 'I have orders from the deputies of Scotland to assure you that they will

[1] [This letter is printed, in French, in the *Clar. State Papers*, ii. 221.]

[2] [Printed *ibid.* 223.]

1646 not herein fail,' (which related to sending the horse to meet his majesty as soon as they should know his day); 'and that the King shall be received into the army as hath been promised; and that his conscience shall not be forced.' And in the last letter, which his majesty or the Secretary received from him, and which was dated the 20th of April 1646[1], there are these words: 'They tell me that they will do more than can be expressed; but let not his majesty hope for any more than I send him word of, that he may not be deceived; and let him take his measures aright; for certainly the enterprise is full of danger.' Yet in the same letter he says, 'The disposition of the chiefs of the Scots' army is such as the King can desire; they begin to draw off their troops towards Burton; and the hindering his majesty from falling into the hands of the English is of so great importance to them, that it cannot be believed but that they will do all that lies in their power to hinder it.'

31. This was the proceeding of Mons. Mountrell in that whole transaction: and if he were too sanguine upon his first conversation with the officers of the Scots' army and some of the committee, and when he signed that engagement upon the first of April, he made haste to retract that confidence, and was in all his despatches afterwards phlegmatic enough; and after his majesty had put himself into their hands, he did honestly and stoutly charge all the particular persons with the promises and engagements they had given to him, and did all he could to make the cardinal sensible of the indignity that was offered to that Crown in the violation of those promises and engagements; which was the reason of his being commanded to return home as soon as the King came to Newcastle, lest his too keen resentment might irritate the Scots, and make it appear to the Parliament how far France was engaged in that whole negotiation, which the cardinal had no mind should appear to the world: and there can be no doubt but that the cautions and animadversions which the King received from him, after his engagement, would have diverted him from that enterprise, if his majesty had discerned any other course to take that had been

[1] [Printed in *Clar. S. P.* ii. 224.]

preferable even to the hazard that he saw he must undergo with the Scots. But he was clearly destitute of any other refuge. His hope of drawing out of his few garrisons which remained such a body of horse and foot as might enable him to take the field, though without any fixed design, in the early spring, was dashed by the total rout and defeat the lord Astly underwent; who being upon his march from Worcester towards Oxford, with two thousand horse and foot, the King having appointed to meet him with another body of fifteen hundred horse and foot, letters and orders miscarried and were intercepted, whereby the enemy came to have notice of the resolution, and drew a much greater strength from their several garrisons of Gloster, Warwick, Coventry, and E[ve]sham, that the lord Astly was no sooner upon his march than they followed him, and the second day, after he had marched all night, and when he thought he had escaped all their quarters, they fell upon his wearied troops, and, though a bold and a stout resistance was made, they were at last totally defeated, and the lord Astly himself, sir Charles Lucas, who was lieutenant general of the horse, and most of the other officers who were not killed, were taken prisoners, and the few who escaped were so scattered and dispersed that they never came together again, nor did there remain from that minute any possibility for the King to draw any other troops together. Every day brought the news of the loss of some garrison: and as Oxford was already blocked up at a distance by those horse which Fayrefax had sent out of the west to that purpose, or to wait upon the King, and follow him close if he should remove out of Oxford, so he had too soon reduced Exeter and some other garrisons in Devonshire. The governors then, when there was no visible and apparent hope of being relieved, thought that they might deliver up their garrisons before they were pressed with the last extremities, that they might obtain the better conditions; and yet it was observed that better or more honourable conditions were not given to any, than to those who kept the places they were trusted with till they had not one day's victual left; of which we shall observe more hereafter.

1646 March 21.

§§ 72, 73.

1646 32. By this means Fayrefax was within three days of Oxford before the King left it, or fully resolved what to do. He had before sent to eminent commanders of name [1], who had blocked up the town at a distance, that if they would pass their words, (how slender a security soever, from such men who had broken so many oaths for the safety of a king,) that they would immediately conduct him to the Parliament, he would have put himself into their hands; for he was yet persuaded to think so well of the city of London, that he would not have been unwilling to have found himself there: but those officers would submit to no such engagements; and great care was taken to have strict guards round about London, that he might not get thither. What should the King do? There was one thing most formidable to him, and which he was resolved to avoid, that was, to be enclosed in Oxford, and so to be given up, or taken, when the town should be surrendered, as a prisoner to the Independents' army; which he was advertised from all hands would treat him very barbarously.

33. In this perplexity he chose rather to commit himself into the Scots' army; which yet he did not trust so far as to give them notice of his journey by sending for a party of their horse to meet him, as they had proffered; but early in the morning,
April 27. upon the 27th day of April, he went out of Oxford, attended only by John Ashburnham, and a scholar, (one Hudson,) who understood the by-ways as well as the common, and was indeed a very skilful guide. And in this equipage he left Oxford on a Monday, leaving those of his Council in Oxford who were privy to his going out not informed whether he would go to the Scots' army or get privately into London, and lie there concealed till he might choose that which was best; and it was generally believed that he had not within himself at that time a fixed resolution what he would do; which was the more credited because it was nine days after his leaving Oxford before it was known where the King was; insomuch as Fayre-

[1] [To Col. Rainsborough and Col. Fleetwood at Woodstock, by a letter from the earl of Southampton, about which the colonels wrote to Parliament on Apr. 23. *Commons' Journals*, iv. 523-4.]

fax, who came before it the fifth day after his majesty was gone, was sat down, and had made his circumvallation about Oxford, before he knew that the King was in the Scots' army; but the King had wasted that time in several places, whereof some were gentlemen's houses, where he was not unknown though untaken notice of, purposely to be informed of the condition of the marquis of Mountrose, and to find some secure passage that he might find himself with him, which he did exceedingly desire; but in the end went into the Scots' army before Newark[1], and sent for Mountrell to come to him. 1646 May 1. May 5[1].

34. It was very early in the morning when the King went to the general's lodging, and discovered himself to him; who either was, or seemed to be, exceedingly surprised and confounded at his majesty's presence, and knew not what to say; but presently gave notice of it to the committee, who were no less perplexed. An express was presently sent to the Parliament at Westminster, to inform them of the unexpected news, as a thing they had not the least imagination of. And the Parliament was so disordered with the intelligence, that at first they resolved to command their general to raise the siege before Oxford, and to march with all expedition to Newark; but the Scots' commissioners diverted them from that, by assuring them that all their orders would meet with an absolute obedience in their army. So they made a short despatch to them, in which it was evident that they believed the King had gone to them by invitation, and not out of his own free choice; and implying that they should shortly receive farther direction from them; and in the mean time, that they should carefully watch that his majesty did not dispose himself to go some whither else. The great care in the army was that there might be only respect and good manners shewed towards the King, without any thing of affection or dependence; and therefore the general never asked the word of him, or any orders, May 8.

[1] [At Southwell. It is strange that in the MS. journal of Prince Rupert's movements from Sept. 5, 1642, to July 4, 1646, kept by Richard Harding, which was sent to Clarendon by the Prince of Wales in Apr. 1648 (*Clar. State Papers*, ii. 400), the following mistaken entry occurs; 'May 12, Tuesday, the King came to the Scotts at Newark.']

1646 nor suffered the officers of the army to resort to him, or to have any discourse with his majesty. Mountrell was ill looked upon, as the man who had brought this inconvenience upon them without their consent; but he was not frighted from owning and declaring what had passed between them, what they had promised, and what they were engaged to do. However, though the King liked not the treatment he received, he was not without apprehension that Fayrefax might be forthwith appointed to decline all other enterprises, and to bring himself near the Scots' army, they being too near together already; and therefore he forthwith gave order to the lord Bellasis to surrender Newark, that the Scots might march northward, which
May 8. they resolved to do; and he giving up that place, which he could have defended for some months longer from that enemy, upon honourable conditions, that army with great expedition marched towards Newcastle; which the King was glad of, though their behaviour to him was still the same, and great strictness used that he might not confer with any man who was not well known to them, much less receive letters from any.

35. It was an observation in that time, that the first publishing of extraordinary news was from the pulpit; and by the preacher's text, and his manner of discourse upon it, the auditors might judge, and commonly foresaw, what was like to be next done in the Parliament or Council of State. The first sermon that was preached before the King, after the army rose from Newark to march northwards, was upon the 19th chapter of the 2d book of Samuel, the 41st, 42d, and 43d verses:

41[1]. *And, behold, all the men of Israel came to the king, and said unto the king, Why have our brethren the men of Judah stolen thee away, and have brought the king, and his household, and all David's men with him, over Jordan?*

42. *And all the men of Judah answered the men of Israel, Because the king is near of kin to us: wherefore then be ye angry for this matter? have we eaten at all of the king's cost? or hath he given us any gift?*

43. *And the men of Israel answered the men of Judah, and said, We have ten parts in the king, and we have also more right in David than ye: why then did ye despise us, that our advice should not be first had*

[1] [From this point to the end of § 49, and subsequently for §§ 58–68, the MS. is in the handwriting of an amanuensis.]

in bringing back our king? And the words of the men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the men of Israel. 1646

36. Upon which words the preacher gave men cause to believe that now they had gotten their king they resolved to keep him, and to adhere to him. But his majesty came no sooner to Newcastle, than both Mons. Mountrell was restrained from having any conference with him, and Mr. Ashburnham was advised to shift for himself, or else that he should be delivered up to the Parliament; and both the one and the other were come to Paris when the Queen sent those lords to hasten the Prince's remove from Jarsey. May 13.

37. When those lords, with their great train, came to Jarsey, which was towards the end of June, they brought with them a letter from the Queen to the Prince, in which she told him that she was now fully satisfied, from the intelligence she had from Newcastle and London, that he could not make any longer residence in Jarsey without apparent danger of falling into the enemy's hands; and that if he should continue there, all possible attempts would be suddenly made, as well by treachery as by force, to get his person into their power; and therefore her majesty did positively require him to give immediate obedience to the King's commands, mentioned in the letter which she had lately sent by sir Dudley Wyatt, (which is set out before,) and reiterated in a letter which she had since received from the king by Mons. Montereul. Her majesty said that she had the greatest assurance from the Crown of France that possibly could be given for his honourable reception, and full liberty to continue there, and to depart from thence at his pleasure; and she engaged her own word that whenever his council should find it fit for him to go out of France, she would never oppose it; and that during his residence in that kingdom all matters of importance which might concern himself, or relate to his majesty's affairs, should be debated and resolved by himself and the council, in such manner as they ought to have been if he had continued in England or in Jarsey; and concluded, that he should make all possible haste to her[1]. June 20. June $\frac{10}{20}$.

[1] [Printed in *Clar. State Papers*, ii. 238.

1646 38. The lords who arrived with this despatch from her majesty had no imagination that there would have been any question of his highness' compliance with the Queen's command; and therefore, as soon as they had kissed the Prince's June 20. hand, which was in the afternoon, they desired that the council might presently be called; and when they came together[1], the lords Jermyn, Digby, and Wentworth, being likewise present and sitting in the council, they desired the Prince that his mother's letter might be read, and then, since they conceived there could be no debate upon his highness' yielding obedience to the command of the King and Queen, that they might only consider of the day when he would begin his journey, and of the order he would observe in it. The lords of the council represented to the Prince that they were the only persons that were accountable to the King and to the kingdom for any resolution his highness should take, and for the consequence thereof; and that the other lords who were present had no title to deliver their advice, or to be present at the debate, they being in no degree responsible for what his highness should resolve to do; and therefore that the whole matter might be debated, the state of the King's present condition understood as far as it might be, and the reasons considered which made it counsellable for his highness to repair into France, and what might be said against it; and the rather, because it was very notorious that the King had given no positive direction in the point, but upon a supposition that the Prince could not remain secure in Jarsey; which was likewise the ground of the Queen's last command; and which they believed had no foundation of reason, and that his residence there might be very unquestionably safe. This begot some warmth and contradiction between persons; insomuch as the Prince thought it very necessary to suspend the debate till the next

[1] [A full account of the deliberations of the council is preserved among the Clarendon MSS. in a paper of six closely written folio pages written by Clarendon himself, which shews that the discussion was continued through three days, from Saturday June 20 to Monday June 22, instead of two, as represented in the text. This paper is printed in Hoskins *Charles II. in the Channel Islands*, i. 429–439, and 443–5.]

day, to the end that by several and private conferences together between the lords who came from Paris and those who were in Jarsey, they might convert or confirm each other in the same opinions, at least that the next debate might be free from passion and unkindness; and so the council rose, and the several lords betook themselves to use the same arguments, or such as they thought more agreeable to the person, as the lord Digby had before done to his friend, and with the same success. 1646

39. The next day, when they were called together, the lord Capell gave an account of all that had passed with the Queen from the time that the lord Culpeper and he came thither; and that the reasons they had carried from the Prince had so far prevailed with the Queen that her majesty resolved to take no final resolution till she received farther advertisement of the King's pleasure; and he did not think that the information she had received from Monsieur Montereul had weight enough to produce the quick resolution it had done: that he thought it still most absolutely necessary to receive the King's positive command before the Prince should remove out of his majesty's own dominions, there being no shadow of cause to suspect his security there: that he had then offered to the Queen that he would himself make a journey to Newcastle to receive his majesty's commands, and that he now made the same offer to the Prince: and because it did appear that his majesty was very strictly guarded, and that persons did not easily find access to him, and that his own person might be seized upon in his journey thither, or his stay there, or his return back, and so his highness might be disappointed of the information he expected, and remain still in the same uncertainty as to a resolution, he did propose, and consent to, as his opinion, that if he did not return again to Jarsey within the space of one month, the[1] Prince should resolve to remove into France, if in the mean time such preparatories were made there which he thought were necessary and were yet defective. June 21.

40. He said, he had been lately at Paris by the Prince's command; and had received many graces from the Queen, who

[1] ['that the,' MS.]

1646 had vouchsafed to impart all her own reasons for the Prince's remove, and the grounds for the confidence she had of the affections of France: but that he did still wonder that, if the Court of France had so great a desire as was pretended that the Prince of Wales should repair thither, in[1] two months' time his highness had been in Jarsey they had never sent a gentleman to see him, and to invite him to come thither; nor had these who came now from the Queen brought so much as a pass for him to come into France: that he could not but observe that all that we had hitherto proposed to ourselves from France had proved in no degree answerable to our expectations; as the five thousand foot, which we had expected in the west before the Prince came from thence; and that we had more reason to be jealous now than ever, since it had been by the advice of France that the King had now put himself into the hands of the Scots; and therefore we ought to be the more watchful in the disposing the person of the Prince by their advice likewise; and concluded, that he could not give his advice or consent that the Prince should repair into France till the King's pleasure might be known, or such other circumstances might be provided in France as had been hitherto neglected.

41. The lord Digby and the lord Jermyn wondered very much that there should be any doubt of the affections of France, or that it should be believed that the Queen could be deceived, or not well enough informed in that particular: they related many particulars which had passed between the cardinal and them in private conferences, and of the great professions of affection he made to the King; that the ambassador who was now appointed to go thither was chosen by the Queen herself, and had no other instructions but what she had given him; and that he was not to stay there above a month; at the end of which he was to denounce war against [the Parliament[2]] if they did not comply with such propositions as he made, and so to return; and then that there should be an army of thirty thousand men immediately transported into England,

[1] '[that in,' MS.] [2] ['them,' MS.]

with the Prince of Wales in the head of them; that that 1646
ambassador was already gone from Paris, but that he was not to embark till he should first receive advertisement that the Prince of Wales was landed in France; for that France had no reason to embark themselves so far in the King's quarrel if the Prince of Wales should refuse to venture his person with them, or, it may be, engage against them upon another interest.

42. They therefore besought the Prince and the lords, that they would consider well, whether he would disappoint his father and himself of so great fruit, as they were even ready to gather, and of which they could not be disappointed, by unseasonable jealousies of the integrity of France, and by delaying to give them satisfaction in the remove of the Prince from Jarsey.

43. These arguments, pressed with all the assurance and confidence imaginable, by persons of that near trust and confidence with the King, and who were not like to be deceived themselves, nor to have any purpose to deceive the Prince, wrought so far with his highness, that he declared himself resolved to comply with the commands of the Queen, and forthwith to remove into France; which being resolved, he wished there might be no more debate upon that point, but that they would all resolve to go with him, and that there might be as great an unity in their counsels as had hitherto always been.

44. This so positive declaration of the Prince of his own resolution made all farther arguments against it not only useless but indecent; and therefore they replied not to that point; yet every man of the council, (the lord Culpeper only excepted,) besought his highness that he would give them his pardon if they did not farther wait upon him; that they conceived their commission to be now at an end; and that they could not assume any authority by it to themselves if they waited upon him into France, nor expect that their counsels there should be hearkened unto when they were now rejected. And so, after some sharp replies between the lords of different judgments, which made the council break up the sooner, they who resolved not to go into France took their leaves of the Prince, and kissed June 22.

1646 his hand; his highness then declaring that he would be gone the next day by five of the clock in the morning, though the cross winds, and want of some provisions which were necessary for the journey, detained him there four or five days[1] longer; during which time the dissenting lords every day waited upon him, and were received by him very graciously; his highness well knowing, and expressing to them a confidence in, their affections, and that they would be ready to wait upon him whenever his occasions should be ready for their service. But between them and the other lords there grew by degrees so great a strangeness, that the last day they did not so much as speak to each other; they who came from the Queen taking it very ill that the others had presumed to dissent from what her majesty had so positively commanded. And though they neither loved their persons nor cared for their company, and without doubt, if they had gone into France, would have made them quickly weary of theirs, yet in that conjuncture they believed that the dissent and separation of all those persons who were trusted by the King with the person of the Prince would blast their counsels, and weigh down the single positive determination of the Queen herself.

45. On the other side, the others did not think that they were treated in that manner that was due to persons so intrusted, and that in truth many ill consequences would result from that sudden departure of the Prince out of the King's dominions, where his residence might have been secure, both in respect of the affairs of England; (where, besides the garrisons of Silly and Pendennis, which might always be relieved by sea, there remained still within his majesty's obedience Oxford, Worcester, Wallingford, Ludlow, and some other places of less name; which, upon any divisions among themselves that were naturally to be expected, might have turned the scale:) nor did they know what ill consequence it might be to the King that in such a conjuncture the Prince should be removed, when it might appear more counsellable that he should appear in Scotland.

[1] [two days.]

46. And Mr. Ashburnham's opinion, which he had delivered 1646
to the lord Capell, wrought very much upon them; for that a man so entirely trusted by the King, and who had seen him as lately as any body, should bring no directions from his majesty to his son, and that he should believe that it was fitter for the Prince to stay in Jarsey than to remove into France till his majesty's pleasure was better understood, confirmed them in the judgment they had delivered.

47. But there was another reason that prevailed with those who had been made privy to it, and which out of duty to the Queen they thought not fit to publish or insist upon; which was the instructions given to Bellivier, (and which too much manifested the irresolution her majesty had,) not to insist upon what they well knew the King would never depart from; for, though he was required to do all he could to persuade the Presbyterians to join with the King's party, and not to insist upon the destruction of the Church, yet if he found that could not be compassed, the ambassador was to press, as the advice of the King his master, his majesty to part with the Church, and to satisfy the Presbyterians in that point, as the advice of the Queen his wife, and of his own party; which method was afterwards observed and pursued by him, and which those lords perfectly abhorred; and thought not fit ever to concur [in,] or be privy to those counsels which had begun and were to carry on that confusion.

48. Within a day or two after the Prince's departure from Jarsey[1] the earl of Berkshire left it likewise, and went for England[2]. The lords Capell, Hopton, and the Chancellor remained together in Jarsey to expect the King's pleasure, and to attend a conjuncture to appear again in his majesty's service; of all which they found an opportunity to inform his majesty, who very well interpreted all that they had done according to the sincerity of their hearts, yet did believe that if they had likewise waited upon the Prince into France, they might have

[1] [He sailed on Thursday June 25, and landed in France the next morning.]

[2] [He sailed on June 27 for St. Malo's, going thence to Holland.]

1646 been able to have prevented, or diverted, those violent pressures which were afterwards made upon him from thence, and which gave him more disquiet than he suffered from all the insolence of his enemies.

49. In a word, if the King's fortune had been farther to be conducted by any fixed rules of policy and discretion, and if the current towards his destruction had not run with that torrent that carried down all obstructions of sobriety and wisdom to prevent it, and made the confusion inevitable, it is very probable that this so sudden remove of the Prince from Jarsey, with all the circumstances thereof, might have been looked upon and censured with some severity, as an action that swerved from that prudence which by the fundamental rules of policy had been long established; but by the fatal and prodigious successes which followed, all counsels of wise and unwise men proving equally unsuccessful, the memory of what had passed before grew to be the less thought upon and considered.

50[1]. Whilst these things were thus transacted in other parts, the King remained yet in the Scots' army; that people behaving themselves in such a manner, that most men believed that they would never have parted with his majesty till a full peace had been made. The Parliament made many sharp instances that the King might be delivered into their hands, and that the Scots' army would return into their own country, having done what they were sent for and the war being at an end. To which the Council of Scotland seemed to answer with courage enough, and insisted most on those arguments of the King's legal right which had been in all his majesty's Declarations urged against the Parliament's proceedings, and which indeed could never be answered, and as much condemned them as the Parliament.

51. In the mean time, though the King received all outward respect, he was in truth in the condition of a prisoner; no servant whom he could trust suffered to come to him[2]. And

[1] [The text is here taken up for §§ 50–57 from the *Life*, pp. 313, 314, following upon the first two paragraphs printed at the beginning of Part V. of the *Life*.]

[2] [The following lines are here struck out in the MS.: 'and Mr. Ash-

many persons of quality who had served the King in the war, 1646
when they saw the resolute answers made by the Scots, that they neither would nor could compel their King to return to the Parliament if his majesty had no mind to do so, repaired to Newcastle, where his majesty was; but none of them were suffered to speak to him; nor could he receive or send any letter to the Queen or Prince; and yet they observed all distances, and performed all the ceremony [which] could be expected if they had indeed treated him as their King; and made as great professions to him of their duty and good purposes, which they would manifest as soon as it should be seasonable, and then his servants and friends should repair to him with all liberty, and be well received: and as they endeavoured to persuade the King to expect this from them, so they prevailed with many officers of the army, and some of the nobility, to believe that they meant well, but that it was not yet time to discover their intentions.

52. Thus they prevailed with the King to send his positive May 19.
orders to the marquis of Mountrose, who had indeed done wonders, to lay down his arms, and to leave the kingdom; till when, they declared they could not declare for his majesty; and this was done with so much earnestness, and by a particular messenger known and trusted, that the marquis obeyed, and Sept. 3.
transported himself into France[1].

53. Then they employed their Alexander Henderson, and their other clergy, to persuade the King to consent to the extirpation of episcopacy in England, as he had in Scotland; and it was, and is still, believed that if his majesty would have been induced to have satisfied them in that particular, they[2] would either have had a party in the Parliament at Westminster to have been satisfied therewith, or that they would thereupon have declared for the King, and have presently joined with the

burnham, who had waited on him from Oxford, and conducted his majesty into the Scotch quarters at Newark, was dismissed from his attendance, and if he had not found means to transport himself into France, the Scots had delivered him to the Parliament.']

[1] [At first into Norway. He did not go to France till March, 1647.]

[2] ['that they,' MS.]

1646 loyal party in all places for his majesty's defence. But the King was too conscientious to buy his peace at so profane and sacrilegious a price as was demanded, and he was so much too hard for Mr. Henderson in the argumentation, (as appears by the papers which passed between them, and which were shortly communicated to the world [1],) that the old man himself was so far convinced and converted, that he had a very deep sense of the mischieve he had himself been the author of, or too much contributed to, and lamented it to his nearest friends and con-
Aug. 19. fidents; and died of grief, and heart-broken, within a very short time after he departed from his majesty.

54. Whilst the King stayed at Newcastle, Belliever the French ambassador, who was sent from Paris after the Prince arrived there, and by whom the cardinal had promised to press the Parliament so imperiously, and to denounce a war against them if they refused to yield to what was reasonable towards an agreement with the King, came to his majesty, after he had
July 9–22. spent some time at London in all the low application to the Parliament that can be imagined, without any mention of the King with any tenderness, as if his interest were at all considered by the King his master, and without any consultation with those of his majesty's party who were then in London, and would have been very ready to have advised with him. But he chose rather to converse with the principal leaders of the Presbyterian party in the Parliament, and with the Scotch commissioners, from whose information he took all his measures; and they assured him that nothing could be done for the King except he would give up the Church, (that is, extirpate episcopacy) and grant all the lands belonging to cathedral churches to such uses as the Parliament should advise; so that when he came to the King, he pressed him very earnestly to that condescension.

55. Besides the matter proposed, in which his majesty was unmoveable, he had no esteem of any thing the ambassador said to him, having too late discovered the little affection the cardinal had for him, and which he had too much relied upon.

[1] [Printed at London in 1649.]

For by his advice, and upon his undertaking and assurance that 1646
his majesty should be well received in the Scotch army, and that they would be firm to his interest, his majesty had ventured to put himself into their hands; and he was no sooner there than all they with whom Mountrell had treated disavowed their undertaking what the King had been informed [of;] and though the envoy did avow and justify what he had informed the King, to the faces of the persons who had given their engagement, the cardinal chose rather to recall and discountenance the minister of that Crown than to enter into any expostulation with the Parliament or the Scots for their effrontery.

56. The ambassador, by an express, quickly informed the cardinal that the King was too reserved in giving the Parliament satisfaction, and therefore wished that somebody might be sent over who was like to have so much credit with his majesty as to persuade him to what was necessary for his service. Upon which, the Queen, who was never advised by those who either understood or valued his true interest, consulted with those about her; and sent sir William Davenant, an Sept.
honest man and a witty, but in all respects inferior to such a trust, with a letter of credit to the King, (who knew the person well enough under another character than was like to give him much credit in the argument in which he was intrusted,) though the Queen had enough declared her opinion to his majesty that he should part with the Church for his peace and security.

57. Sir William Davenant had, by the countenance of the French ambassador, easy admission to the King; who heard him patiently all he had to say, and answered him in that manner that made it evident he was not pleased with the advice. When he found his majesty unsatisfied, and that he was not like to consent to what was so earnestly desired by them by whose advice he was sent, and who undervalued all those scruples of conscience which his majesty himself was strongly possessed with, he took upon him the confidence to offer some reasons to the King to induce him to yield to what was proposed, and, amongst other things, said, it was the advice and

1646 opinion of all his friends. His majesty asking, what friends? and he answering, that it was the opinion of the lord Jermin, the King said, that the lord Jermin did not understand any thing of the Church. The other said, the lord Culpeper was of the same mind. The King said, Culpeper had no religion, and asked whether the Chancellor was of that mind? to which he answered, he did not know, for that he was not there, and had deserted the Prince; and thereupon said somewhat from the Queen of the displeasure she had conceived against the Chancellor: to which the King said, the Chancellor was an honest man, and would never desert him, nor the Prince, nor the Church; and that he was sorry he was not with his son; but that his wife was mistaken. Davenant then offering some reasons of his own, in which he mentioned the Church slightingly, as if it were not of importance enough to weigh down the benefit that would attend the concession, his majesty was transported with so much passion and indignation that he gave him more reproachful terms, and a sharper reprehension, than he did ever towards any other man; and forbad him to presume to come again into his presence. Whereupon the poor man, who had in truth very good affections, was exceedingly dejected and afflicted; and returned into France, to give an account of his ill success to those who sent him.

58 [1]. As all men's expectations from the courage and activity of the French ambassador in England were thus disappointed and frustrated by his mean and low carriage both towards the Parliament and at Newcastle, so all the professions which had been made of respect and tenderness towards the Prince of Wales when his person should once appear in France were as unworthily complied with. The Prince had been above two months with the Queen his mother, before any notice was taken of his being in France by the least message sent from the Court to congratulate his arrival there; but that time was spent in debating the formalities of his reception; how the King should treat him, and how he should behave himself towards the King; whether he should take place of monsieur the King's

[1] [*Hist.*, book x, p. 8.]

brother, and what kind of ceremonies should be observed be- 1646
tween the Prince of Wales and his uncle the duke of Orleans; and many such other particulars; in all which they were resolved to give the law themselves; and which had been fitter to have been adjusted in Jarsy, before he put himself into their power, than ventilated afterwards in the Court of France, from which there could be then no appeal.

59. There can be no doubt but that the cardinal, who was the sole minister of state, and directed all that was to be done and dictated all that was to be said, did think the presence of the Prince there to be of the highest importance to their affairs, and did all that was in his power to persuade the Queen that it was as necessary for the affairs of the King her husband and of her majesty: but now that work was over, and the person of the Prince brought into their power, without the least public act, or ceremony to invite him thither, it was no less his care to have the Parliament in England, and the officers of the army whom he feared more than the Parliament, should believe that the Prince came thither without their wish, and in truth against their will; that the Crown of France could not refuse to interpose and mediate, to compose the difference between the Parliament and the Scotch nation, and that the kingdoms might be restored to peace; but that when they had performed that office of mediation they had performed their function, and that they would no more presume to take upon them to judge between the Parliament and the Scots than they had done between the King and the Parliament; and that since the Prince had come unto the Queen his mother, (from which they could not reasonably restrain him,) it should not be attended with any prejudice to the peace of England, nor should he there find any means or assistance to disturb it. And it was then believed by those who stood at no great distance from affairs, that the cardinal then laid the foundation for that friendship which was shortly after built up between him and Cromwell, by promising that they should receive less inconvenience by the Prince's remaining in France than if he were in any other part of Europe. And it can hardly be believed with how little respect

1646 they treated him during the whole time of his stay there. And they were very careful that he might not be looked upon as supported by them, either according to his dignity or for the maintenance of his family; but a mean addition to the pension which the Queen received was made to her majesty, without any mention of the Prince her son; who was wholly to depend upon her bounty, and without power to gratify or oblige any of his own servants, that they likewise might depend only upon the Queen's goodness and favour, and so behave themselves accordingly.

60 [1]. When the Scots had secured the peace and quiet of their own country by disbanding the forces under the marquis of Mountrose, and by his transporting himself beyond the seas, and by putting to death several persons of name who had followed the marquis and had been taken prisoners, (amongst 1647 Jan. 20. whom sir Robert Spotswoode was one, a worthy, honest, loyal, gentleman, and as wise a man as that nation had at that time, whom the King had made Secretary of State of that kingdom, in the place of the earl of Lanrick, who was then in arms against him; which, it may be, was a principal cause that the other was put to death:) and when they had with such solemnity and courage made it plain and evident that they could not, without the most barefaced violation of their faith and allegiance and of the fundamental principles of Christian religion, ever deliver up their native King, who had put himself into their hands, against his own will and consent, into the hands of the Parliament: and [when] the earl of Lowden had Oct. 6. publicly declared to the two Houses of Parliament, in a conference, that an eternal infamy would lie upon them and the whole nation if they should deliver the person of the King; the securing of which was equally their duty as it was the Parliament's, and the disposal of his person in order to that security did equally belong to them as to the Parliament; [they said,] however, they would use all the persuasion and all the importunity they could with the King that his majesty might

[1] [The passage from the words 'When the Scots' to 'such solemnity' is from the MS. of the *Life*, p. 314.]

yield, and consent to the propositions the Parliament had sent 1646
to him.

61. The Parliament had, upon the first notice of the King's being arrived in the Scotch army, sent a positive command to the committee of both kingdoms residing in the Scotch army, that the person of the King should be forthwith sent to Warwick Castle [1]; but the Scots, who apprehended they could not be long without such an order, had, within two days after his majesty's coming to them, and after he had caused Newark to be delivered up, with wonderful expedition marched towards Newcastle, and [were [2]] arrived there before they received that May 13.
order for sending his majesty to Warwick; which proceeding of theirs, amongst many other things which displeased him, pleased his majesty very well, and persuaded him that, though they would observe their own method, they would in the end do somewhat for his service.

62. Upon the receiving that order, they renewed their professions to the Parliament of observing punctually all that had been agreed between them; and besought them that, since they June 10.
had promised the King before he left Oxford to send propositions to him, they would now do it; and [said,] that if he refused to comply with them, to which they should persuade him, they knew what they were to do. Then they advised the King, and prevailed with him, to send orders to the governor of May 18.
Oxford to make conditions, and to surrender that place (where his son the duke of York was, and all the Council) into the hands of Faryefax, who with his army then besieged them; and likewise to publish a general order, (which they caused to be June 10.
printed,) that all governors of any garrisons for his majesty should immediately deliver them up to the Parliament upon fair and honourable conditions, since his majesty resolved to be in all things advised by his Parliament; and till this were done, they said, they could not declare themselves in that manner for his majesty's service and interest as they resolved to do; for

[1] [This vote passed the Commons on May 6, but was unanimously rejected by the Lords on May 9 and was reversed by the Commons on May 11.]

[2] ['was,' MS.]

1646 that they were, by their treaty and confederacy, to serve the Parliament in such manner as it should direct, until the war should be ended; but that done, they had no more obligations to the Parliament; and that when his majesty had no more forces on foot, nor garrisons which held out for him, it could not be denied but that the war was at an end; and then they could speak, and expostulate with freedom. By which arts they prevailed with the King to send and publish such orders as aforesaid; and which indeed, as the case then stood, he could have received no benefit by not publishing.

63. The Parliament was contented, as the more expedite way, (though they were much offended at the presumption of the Scots in neglecting to send the King to Warwick,) to send their propositions to the King (which they knew his majesty would never grant) by commissioners of both Houses, who had no other authority or power than to demand a positive answer from the King in ten days, and then to return. These propositions were delivered about the end of July, and contained such an eradication of the government of the Church and State, that the King told them that he knew not what answer to make to them till he should be informed what power or authority they had left to him and his heirs when he had given all that to them which they desired. He desired that he might be removed to some of his own houses, and that he might reside there till, upon a personal treaty with his Parliament, such an agreement might be established as the kingdom might enjoy peace and happiness under it, which he was sure it could never do by the concessions they proposed.

July 24[1]. Aug. 1.

64. The Scots, (who were enough convinced that his majesty could never be wrought upon to sacrifice the Church to their wild lust and impiety,) were as good as their word to the Parliament, and used all the rude importunity and threats to his majesty to persuade him freely to consent to all: though they confessed that the propositions were higher in many things than they approved of, yet they saw no other means

[1] [The commissioners arrived at Newcastle on July 23, and had audience of the King the next day. *Lords' Journals*, viii. 462.]

for him to close with his Parliament than by granting what they required. 1646

65. The Chancellor [of Scotland] told him that the consequence of his answer to these propositions was as great as the ruin or preservation of his crown or kingdoms: that the Parliament, after many bloody battles, had got the strong holds and forts of the kingdom into their hands: that they had his revenue, excise, assessments, sequestrations, and power to raise all the men and money of the kingdom: that they had gained victory over all, and that they had a strong army to maintain it; so that they might do what they would with Church or State: that they desired neither him nor any of his race longer to reign over them; and that they had sent these propositions to his majesty, without the granting whereof the kingdom and his people could not be in safety: that if he refused to assent, he would lose all his friends in Parliament, lose the city, and lose the country; and that all England would join against him as one man to process and depose him, and to set up another government; and so, that both kingdoms, for either's safety, would agree to settle religion and peace without him, to the ruin of his majesty and his posterity: and concluded, that if he left England, he would not be admitted to come and reign in Scotland[1].

66. And it is very true that the General Assembly of the Kirk, which was then sitting in Scotland, had petitioned the Conservators of the peace of the kingdom, that if the King should refuse to give satisfaction to his Parliament, he might not be permitted to come into Scotland[2]. This kind of argumentation did more provoke than persuade the King; and he told them with great magnanimity and resolution, that no condition they could reduce him to could be half so miserable and grievous to him as that which they would persuade him to reduce himself to; and therefore bid them proceed their own way, and that though they had all forsaken him, God had not.

67. The Parliament had now received the answer they ex-

[1] [Rushworth, IV. i. 319–20.]

[2] [Declaration dated 17 Dec. *Ib.* 390–2.

1646 pected; and forthwith required the Scots to quit the kingdom,
Sept. 18, 22. and to deliver the person of the King to such persons as they should appoint to receive him; who should attend upon his
Dec. 31. majesty from Newcastle to Holmeby, a house of his majesty's at a small distance from Northampton, a town and country of very eminent disaffection to the King throughout the war; and [said,] that his majesty should be treated, with respect to the safety and preservation of his person, according to the Covenant, and that after his coming to Holmeby he should be attended by such as they should appoint; and that when the Scots were removed out of England, the Parliament would join with their brethren of Scotland again to persuade the King to pass the propositions; which if he refused to do, the House would do nothing that might break the union of the two kingdoms, but would endeavour to preserve the same.

Oct. 1, 6, 10, 20. 68. The Scots now begun again to talk sturdily, and denied that the Parliament of England had power absolutely to dispose of the person of the King without their approbation; and the
Nov. 28. Parliament as loudly replied, that they had nothing to do in England but to observe their orders, and added such threats to their reasons as might let them see that they had a great contempt of their power, and would exact obedience from them if they refused to yield it. But these discourses were only kept up till they could adjust all accounts between them, and agree what price they should pay for the delivery of his person whom one side was resolved to have and the other as resolved not to keep[1]; and so they quickly agreed, that, upon the payment of
Dec. 16–22. two[2] hundred thousand pounds in hand, and security for as
1647. Jan. 16. much more upon days agreed upon[3], they would deliver the

[1] [*Life*, p. 315. The following words, which there precede what here follows in the text, are struck out: 'And when they found that his majesty could not be wrought upon to sacrifice the Church to their impiety, they upon the sudden abated and fell from their high style in their expostulations with the Parliament, which had indeed treated them *satis pro imperio*, not without many reproaches and threats if they presumed to delay the complying with what they desired.']

[2] [altered from 'three.']

[3] [The words 'in hand—agreed upon,' are substituted for, 'which they pretended was due to them upon account of service.']

King up into such hands as the Parliament should appoint to receive him. 1647

69. And upon this infamous contract that excellent prince was, in the end of January, wickedly given up by his Scots' subjects to those of his English who were intrusted by the Parliament to receive him; which appointed a committee of Lords and Commons to go to the place agreed upon, with a party of horse and foot of the army, which were subject to the orders of that committee, and the committee itself to go to Newcastle to receive that town as well as the King; where and to whom his majesty was delivered, who received him with the same formality of respect as he had been treated with by the Scots, and with the same strictness restrained all resort of those to his majesty who were of doubtful affections to them and their cause. Servants were particularly appointed and named by the Parliament to attend upon his person and service in all relations; amongst which, in the first place, they preferred those who had faithfully adhered to them against their master, and where such were wanting, they found others who had manifested their affection to them. And in this distribution, the Presbyterian party in the Houses did what they pleased, and were thought to govern all; the Independents craftily letting them enjoy that confidence of their power and interest till they had dismissed their friends, the Scots, out of the kingdom, and permitting them to put their friends about the person of the King, and to choose such a guard as they could confide in to attend his majesty. Jan. 23. Jan. 30.

70. And of the committee employed to govern and direct all, major general Browne was one, who had a great name and interest in the city and with all the Presbyterian party, and had done great service to the Parliament in the war under the earl of Essex, and was a diligent and a stout commander. And in this manner, and with this attendance, his majesty was brought to his own house at Holmeby in Northamptonshire, a place he had taken much delight in: and where he was to stay till the Parliament and the army (for the army now took upon them to have a share, and to give their opinion in the settlement Feb. 16.

1647 that should be made) should determine what should farther be done.

71. In the mean time, the committee paid all respects to his majesty, and he enjoyed those exercises he most delighted in; and seemed to have all liberty, but to confer with persons he most desired, and to have such servants about him as he could trust. That which most displeased him was, that they would not permit him to have his own chaplains, but ordered Presbyterian ministers to attend for divine service; and his majesty utterly refusing to be present at their devotions, he was compelled at those hours to be his own chaplain in his bed-chamber, where he constantly used the Common Prayer by himself. Yet[1] his majesty bore this constraint so heavily, that he writ a letter
Feb. 19. to the House of Peers, in which he enclosed a list of the names of thirteen of his chaplains, any two of which he desired might have liberty to attend him for his devotions. To which, after
March 15. many days' consideration, they returned this answer: That all those chaplains were disaffected to the established government of the Church, and had not taken the Covenant; but that there were others who had, and who, if his majesty pleased, should be sent to him. After this answer his majesty thought it to no purpose to importune them farther in that particular; but, next the having his own chaplains, he would have been best pleased to have been without any: they who were sent by them being men of mean parts, and of most impertinent and troublesome confidence and importunity.

72[2]. Whilst these disputes continued between the Parliament and the Scots concerning the King's person, the army proceeded with great success in reducing those garrisons which still continued in his majesty's obedience; whereof though some surrendered more easily, and with less resistance than they might have made, satisfying themselves with the King's general order, and that there was no reasonable expectation of relief, and therefore it would not be amiss by an early submission to obtain better conditions for themselves, yet others defended themselves with notable obstinacy to the last, to the great damage of the

[1] [*Hist.*, p. 11.] [2] [*Life*, p. 315.]

enemy, and to the detaining the army from uniting together; 1647
without which they could not pursue the great designs they had. And this was one of the reasons that made the treaty with the Scots depend so long, and that the Presbyterians continued their authority and credit so long; and it was observed, that those garrisons which were maintained and defended with the greatest courage and virtue, in the end obtained as good and as honourable conditions as any of those who surrendered upon the first summons.

73. Which was the case of Pendennis Castle, which endured the longest siege, and held out the last of any fort or castle in England; and refused all summons, nor admitted any treaty, till all their provisions were so near consumed that they had not victual left for four and twenty hours; and then they treated, and carried themselves in the treaty with that resolution and unconcernedness that the enemy concluded that they were in no straits, and so gave them the conditions they pro- Aug. 17.
posed, which were as good as any garrison in England had accepted. This castle was defended by the governor thereof, John Arrundell of Trerize in Cornwall, an old gentleman of near fourscore years of age, and of one of the best estates and interest in that county; who, with the assistance of his son Richard Arrundell (who was then a colonel in the army, and a stout and diligent officer, and was by the King after his return 166$\frac{3}{4}$.
made a baron, lord Arrundell of Trerize, in memory of his March 23.
father's service, and his own eminent behaviour throughout the war,) maintained and defended the same to the last extremity.

74. There remained with him in that service many gentlemen of the country of great loyalty, amongst whom sir Harry Killigrew of [*blank in MS.*] was one; who, being an intimate friend of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, resolved to go to Jarsy; and as soon as the castle was surrendered, took the opportunity of a vessel then in the harbour of Falmoth to transport himself with some officers and soldiers to St. Malloes in Brittany; from whence he writ to the Chancellor in Jarsy, that he would procure a bark of that island to go to St. Malloes to fetch him

1647 thither; which, by the kindness of sir George Carteret, was presently sent, with a longing desire to receive him into that island; the two lords, Capell and Hopton, and the governor, having extraordinary affection for him as well as the Chancellor. And within two days after, upon view of the vessel at sea, (which they well knew,) they all made haste to the harbour to receive their friend; but when they came thither, to their infinite regret, they found his body there in a coffin, he having
Sept. 27. died at St. Malloes within a day after he had written his letter.

75. After the treaty was signed for delivering the castle, he walked out to discharge some arms which were in his chamber; amongst which, a carabine that had been long charged, in the shooting[1] off, brake, and a splinter of it struck him in the forehead; which, though it drew much blood, was not apprehended by him to be of any danger, so that his friends could not persuade him to stay there till the wound was cured; but, the blood being stopped, and the surgeon having bound it up, he prosecuted his intended voyage; and at his landing at St. Malloes he writ that letter, believing his wound would give him little trouble. But his letter was no sooner gone than he sent for a surgeon, who, opening the wound, found it was very deep and dangerous; and the next day he died, and desired that his dead body might be sent to Jarsy, where he was
Oct. 3. decently buried. He was a very gallant gentleman, of a noble extraction, and a fair revenue in land; of excellent parts and great courage: he had one only son, who was killed before him in a party that fell upon the enemy's quarters near Bridgewater, where he behaved himself with remarkable courage, and was generally lamented.

76. Sir Harry was of the House of Commons; and though he had no other relation to the Court than the having many friends there, (as wherever he was known he was exceedingly beloved,) he was most zealous and passionate in the opposing all the extravagant proceedings of the Parliament. And when the earl of Essex was chosen general, and the several members of the House stood [up,] and declared what horse they would

[1] ['sutinge,' MS.]

raise and maintain, and that they would live and die with the 1647
earl their general, one saying he would raise ten horses, and another twenty, he stood up, and said, 'He would provide a good horse, and a good buff-coat, and a good pair of pistols, and then he doubted not he should find a good cause;' and so went out of the House, and rode post into Cornwall, where his estate and interest lay, and there joined with those gallant gentlemen his friends who first received the lord Hopton, and raised those forces which did so many famous actions in the west.

77. He would never take any command in the army; but they who had, consulted with no man more. He was in all actions, and in those places, where was most danger, having great courage and a pleasantness of humour in danger that was very exemplar; and they who did not do their duty took care not to be within his view, for he was a very sharp speaker, and cared not for angering those who deserved to be reprehended. The Arrundells, Slan[n]ings, Trevan[n]ions, and all the signal men of that county, infinitely loved his spirit and sincerity, and his credit and interest had a great influence upon all but those who did not love the King; and towards those he was very terrible, and exceedingly hated by them; and not loved by men of moderate tempers, for he thought all such prepared to rebel when a little success should encourage them; and was many times too much offended with men who wished well, and whose constitutions and complexions would not permit them to express the same frankness which his nature and keenness of spirit could not suppress. His loss was much lamented by all good men[1].

78. From the time that the King was brought to Holmeby, and whilst he stayed there, he was afflicted with the same pressures concerning the Church which had disquieted him at Newcastle, the Parliament not remitting any of their inso-

[1] [This last line is substituted for the following: 'The Chancellor had so great a friendship for him that he was exceedingly afflicted at his unexpected death, which disappointed him of much delight and comfort he had promised himself in his conversation and friendship, in the melancholic condition they were reduced to, in the miserable state of the country.']

1647 lencies in their demands: all which was imputed to the Presbyterians, who were thought to exercise the whole power, and began to give orders for the lessening their great charge by disbanding some troops of their army, and sending others for Ireland, which they made no doubt speedily to reduce; and declared that they would then disband all armies, that the kingdom might be governed by the known laws.

79. This temper in the Houses raised another spirit in the army, which did neither like the Presbyterian government, which they saw ready to be settled in the Church, nor that the Parliament should so absolutely dispose of them by whom they had gotten power to do all they had done; and Cromwell, who had the sole influence upon the army, underhand made them to petition the Houses against any thing that was done contrary to his opinion. He himself and his officers took upon them to preach and pray publicly to their troops, and admitted no chaplains in the army but such who bitterly inveighed against the Presbyterian government as more tyrannical than episcopacy; and the common soldiers, as well as the officers, did not only pray and preach amongst themselves, but went up into the pulpits in all churches, and preached to the people; who quickly became inspired with the same spirit, women as well as men taking upon them to pray and preach; which made as great a noise and confusion in all opinions concerning religion, as there was in the civil government of the State; no man being suffered to be called in question for delivering any opinion in religion, by speaking or writing, how profane, heretical, or blasphemous soever it was, which they said was to restrain the Spirit.

80. And liberty of conscience was now the common argument and quarrel, whilst the Presbyterian party proceeded with equal bitterness against the several sects as enemies to all godliness, as they had done, and still continued to do, against the prelatical party; and finding themselves superior in the two Houses, little doubted, by their authority and power there, to be able to reform the army and to new model it again; which they would no doubt have attempted, if it had not pleased God

at that time to have taken away the earl of Essex; who died 1647
without being sensible of sickness, in a time when he might Sept. 14.
have been able to have undone much of the mischieve he had formerly wrought; to which he had great inclinations; and had indignation enough for the indignities himself had received from the ingrateful Parliament, and wonderful apprehension and detestation of the ruin he saw like to befall the King and the kingdom. And it is very probable, considering the present temper of the city at that time and of the two Houses, he might, if he had lived, [have] given some check to the rage and fury that then prevailed. But God would not suffer a man who, out of the pride and vanity of his nature rather than the wickedness of his heart, had been made an instrument of so much mischieve, to have any share in so glorious a work.

81. Though his constitution and temper might very well entitle him to the lethargic indisposition of which he died, yet it was loudly said by many of his friends that he was poisoned. Sure it is that Cromwell and his party (for he was now the declared head of the army, though Fayrefax continued general in name) were wonderfully exalted with his death; he being the only person whose credit and interest they feared, without any esteem of his person.

82. And now, that they might more substantially enter into dispute and competition with the Parliament, and go a share with them in the settling the kingdom, (as they called it,) the army erected a kind of parliament amongst themselves. They had, from the time of the defeat of the King's army, and that they had no more enemy to contend with in the field, and after they had purged their army of all those inconvenient officers of whose entire submission and obedience to all their dictates they had not confidence, set aside their Self-denying Ordinance, and got their principal officers of the army, and other of their friends whose principles they well knew, to be elected members of the House of Commons into their places who were dead, or who had been expelled by them for adhering to the King. And by this means Fayrefax himself, Ireton, Harrison, and many other of the Independent officers, and gentlemen of the

1647 several counties, who were transported with new fancies in religion, and were called by a new name *Fanatics*, sat in the House of Commons; notwithstanding all which, the Presbyterians still carried it.

83. So that about this time, that they might be upon a nearer level with the Parliament, the army made choice of a
March 2. number of such officers as they liked, which they called *The General's council of officers*, and were to resemble the house of peers; and the common soldiers made choice of three or four of each regiment, most corporals or sergeants, and none above the degree of an ensign, who were called *Agitators*, and were to be as a house of commons to the council of officers. And those two representatives met severally, and considered of all the acts and orders made by the Parliament towards settling the kingdom, and towards reforming, dividing, or disbanding the army: and, upon mutual messages and conferences between each other, they resolved in the first place, and declared, that they would not be divided or disbanded before their full arrears were paid, and before full provision was made for the liberty of conscience: which, they said, was the ground of the quarrel, and for which so many of their friends' lives had been lost, and so much of their own blood had been spilt; and that hitherto there was so little security provided in that point, that there was a greater persecution now against religious and godly men than ever had been in the King's government and when the bishops were their judges.

April 27. 84. They said, they did not look upon themselves as a band of janizaries, hired and entertained only to fight their battles, but that they had voluntarily taken up arms for the liberty and defence of the nation, of which they were a part; and before they laid down those arms they would see all those ends well provided for, that the people might not hereafter undergo those grievances which they had formerly suffered. They complained that some members of the army had been sent for by the
April 1. Parliament, and committed to prison, which was against their privilege, since all soldiers ought to be tried by a council of war and not by any other judicatory; and therefore they desired

redress in these, and many other particulars of as ingrateful a nature; and that such as were imprisoned and in custody might be forthwith set at liberty; without which they could not think themselves justly dealt with. And with this declaration and address they sent three or four of their own members to the House of Commons, who delivered it at the bar with wonderful confidence. 1647 April 30.

85[1]. The soldiers published a *Vindication*, as they called it, of their proceedings and resolutions, and directed it to their general; in which they complained of a design to disband and new model the army; which, they said, was a plot contrived by some men who had lately tasted of sovereignty, and, being lifted up above the ordinary sphere of servants, endeavour[ed] to become masters, and were degenerated into tyrants. And they therefore declared, that they would neither be employed for the service of Ireland, nor suffer themselves to be disbanded, till their desires were granted, and the rights and liberties of the subject should be vindicated and maintained[2]. This apology, or vindication, being signed by many inferior officers, the Parliament declared them to be enemies to the State, and caused some of them who talked loudest to be imprisoned. March 30. Upon which a new address was made to their general; in which May 29. they complained how disdainfully they were used by the Parliament, for whom they had ventured their lives and lost their blood: that the privileges which were due to them as soldiers and as subjects were taken from them; and when they complained of the injuries they received, they were abused, beaten, and dragged into gaols.

86. Hereupon the general was prevailed with to write a letter to a member of Parliament, who shewed it to the House; in which he took notice of several petitions, which were prepared in the city of London and some other counties of the

[1] [*Hist.*, p. 11.]

[2] [See Rushworth, IV. i. pp. 469, 474, for the *Vindication* dated Apr. 27 and presented to Parliament on Apr. 30, and pp. 505–12 for a further *Representation* and an *Engagement* dated June 4, 5. Clarendon's account appears to be very confused.]

1647 kingdom, against the army; and that it was looked upon as very strange, that the officers of the army might not be permitted to petition, when so many petitions were received against them; and that he much doubted that the army might draw to a rendezvous, and think of some other way for their own vindication.

87. This manner of proceeding by the soldiers, but especially the general's seeming to be of their mind, troubled the Parliament; yet they resolved not to suffer their counsels to be censured, or their actions controlled, by those who were retained by them, and who lived upon their pay. And therefore, after many high expressions against the presumption of several
April 27. officers and soldiers, they declared that whosoever should refuse, being commanded, to engage himself in the service of Ireland, should be disbanded. The army was resolved not to be subdued in their first so declared resolution, and fell into a direct and high mutiny, and called for the arrears of pay due to them; which they knew where and how to levy for themselves; nor could they be in any degree appeased till the declaration that
June 5, 8. the Parliament had made against them was rased out of the journal book of both Houses, and a month's pay sent to them; nor were they satisfied with all this, but talked very loud that they knew how to make themselves as considerable as the Parliament, and where to have their services better valued and
June 7. rewarded; which so frighted those at Westminster, that they appointed a committee of Lords and Commons, whereof some were very acceptable to the army, to go to them, and to treat with a committee chosen of the officers of the army, upon the best expedients that might be applied to the composing these distempers. And now the army thought itself upon a level with the Parliament, when they had a committee of the one authorized to treat with a committee of the other; which likewise raised the spirit of Fayrefax, who had never thought of opposing or disobeying the Parliament, and disposed him to more concurrence with the impetuous humour of the army, when he saw it was so much complied with and submitted to by all men.

88 [1]. Cromwell hitherto carried himself with that rare dis- 1647
simulation (in which sure he was a very great master,) that he seemed exceedingly incensed against this insolence of the soldiers, was still in the House of Commons when any such addresses were made, and inveighed bitterly against the presumption, and had been the cause of the commitment of some of the officers. He proposed that the general might be sent down to the army, who, he said, would conjure down this mutinous spirit quickly; and he was so easily believed that he himself was sent once or twice to compose the army; where after he Apr. 30.
had stayed two or three days, he would return again to the House, and complain heavily of the great license that was got into the army; that, for his own part, by the artifice of his enemies, and of those who desired that the nation should be again imbrued in blood, he was rendered so odious unto them, that they had a purpose to kill him, if, upon some discovery made to him, he had not escaped out of their hands. And in these and the like discourses, when he spake of the nation's being to be involved in new troubles, he would weep bitterly, and appear the most afflicted man in the world with the sense of the calamities which were like to ensue. But as many of the wiser sort had long discovered his wicked intentions, so his hypocrisy could not longer be concealed. The most active officers and agitators were known to be his own creatures, and such who neither did nor would do any thing but by his direction. So that it was resolved by the principal persons of the House of Commons, that when he came the next day into the House, which he seldom omitted to do, they would send him to the Tower; presuming that if they had once severed his person from the army they should easily reduce it to its former temper and obedience. For they had not the least jealousy of the general Fayrefax, whom they knew to be a perfect Presbyterian in his judgment, and that Cromwell had the ascendant over him purely by his dissimulation, and pretence of conscience and sincerity. And there is no doubt Fayrefax did not then, nor long after, believe that the other had those wicked designs in

[1] [*Life*, p. 318.]

1647 his heart against the King, or the least imagination of disobeying the Parliament.

89. This purpose of seizing upon the person of Cromwell could not be carried so secretly but that he had notice of it; and the very next morning after he had so much lamented his desperate misfortune in having lost all reputation and credit and authority in the army, and that his life would be in danger if he were with it, when the House expected every minute his presence, they were informed that he was met out of the town by the break of day, with one servant only, on the way to the army; where he had appointed a rendezvous of some regiments of the horse, and from whence he writ a letter to the House of Commons, that he [had[1]] the night before received a letter from some officers of his own regiment, that the jealousy the troops had conceived of him and of his want of kindness towards them [was[2]] much abated, so that they believed, if he would be quickly present with them, they would all in a short time by his advice be reclaimed, upon which he had made all the haste he could, and did find that the soldiers had been abused by misinformation, and that he hoped to discover the fountain from whence it sprung; and in the mean time desired that the general, and the other officers in the House, and such as remained about the town, might be presently sent to their quarters; and that he believed it would be very necessary in order to the suppression of the late distempers, and for the prevention of the like for the time to come, that there might be a general rendezvous of the army; of which the general would best consider when he came down; which he wished might be hastened. It was now to no purpose to discover what they had formerly intended, or that they had any jealousy of a person who was out of their reach; and so they expected a better conjuncture; and, in a few days after, the general and the other officers left the town, and went to their quarters.

90. The same morning that Cromwell left London, cornet Joyce, (who was one of the agitators in the army, a tailor, and a fellow who had two or three years before served in a very

[1] ['having,' MS.] [2] ['were,' MS.]

inferior employment in Mr. Hollis's house,) came with a squad- 1647
ron of fifty horse to Holmeby, where the King was, about the
break of day; and, without any interruption by the guard of June 3.
horse or foot which waited there, came with two or three more,
and knocked at the King's chamber door, and said he must
presently speak with the King. His majesty, surprised with
the manner of it, rose out of his bed, and, half dressed, caused
the door to be opened, which he knew would otherwise quickly
be broken up; they who waited in the chamber being persons
of whom he had little knowledge and less confidence. As soon
as the door was opened, Joyce and two or three more came into
the chamber, with their hats off, and pistols in their hands, and
Joyce told the King that he must go with them. His majesty
asked, 'Whither?' He answered, 'To the army.' The King
asked him 'Where the army was?' He said, 'They would
carry him to the place where it was.' His majesty asked, 'By
what authority they came?' Joyce answered, 'By *this*;' and
shewed them his pistol; and desired his majesty 'that he would
cause himself to be dressed, because it was necessary they should
make haste.' Neither of the others spake a word; and Joyce,
saving the bluntness and positiveness of the few words he spake,
behaved not himself rudely. The King said he could not stir
before he spake with the committee to whom he had been
delivered, and who were trusted by the Parliament; and so
appointed one of those who waited upon him to call them. The
committee had been as much surprised with the noise as the
King had been, and quickly came to his chamber, and asked
Joyce, 'Whether he had any order from the Parliament?' He
said, 'No.' 'From the General?' 'No.' 'What authority he
came by?' To which he made no other answer than he had
made to the King, and held up his pistol. They said, 'They
would write to the Parliament to know their pleasure.' Joyce
said, 'They might do so, but the King must presently go with
them.' Colonel Browne had sent for some of the troops who
were appointed for the King's guard, but they came not; he
spake then with the officer who commanded those who were at
that time upon the guard, and found that they would make no

1647. resistance. And so, after the King had made all the delays he conveniently could, without giving them cause to believe that he was resolved not to have gone, which had been to no pur-
June 4. pose, after he had broken his fast, he went into his coach, attended by the few servants who were put about him, and went whither cornet Joyce would conduct him; there being no part of the army known to be within twenty miles of Holmeby at that time; and that which administered most cause of apprehension was, that those officers who were of the guard declared that the squadron which was commanded by Joyce consisted not of soldiers of any one regiment, but were men of several troops and several regiments drawn together under him, who was not their proper officer; so that the King did in truth believe that their purpose was to carry him to some place where they might more conveniently murder him. The committee quickly gave notice to the Parliament of what had passed, with all the circumstances[1]; and it was received with all imaginable consternation, nor could any body imagine what the purpose and resolution was.

91[2]. Nor were they at the more ease, or in any degree pleased, with the account they received from the general him-
June 7. self; who by his letter informed them, that the soldiers at Holmeby had brought the King from thence, and that his majesty lay the next night at colonel Mountague's house[3], and would be the next day at Newmarket: that the ground thereof was from some apprehension of some strength gathered to force the King from them; whereupon he had sent colonel Whaley's regiment to meet his majesty. He protested that this remove was without his consent, or the officers about him, or of the body of the army, and without their desire or privity: that he would take care for the security of his majesty's person from danger; and assured the Parliament that the whole army

[1] [*Lords' Journals*, ix. 240, 250.]

[2] [*Hist.*, p. 12.]

[3] [At Hinchinbrooke on the night of June 4; at Sir John Cutts' house at Childersley, June 5-7; at Newmarket on June 8. *Lords' Journals*, ix. 248, 250.]

endeavoured peace, and were far from opposing Presbytery or affecting Independency or any purpose to maintain a licentious freedom in religion, or the interest of any particular party, but [were[1]] resolved to leave the absolute determination of all to the Parliament. 1647

92. It was upon the third of June that the King was taken from Holmeby by cornet Joyce, a full year[2] after he had delivered himself to the Scots at Newark; in all which time the army had been at leisure to contrive all ways to free itself from the servitude of the Parliament, whilst the Presbyterians believed that (in spite of a few factious Independent officers) it was entirely at their devotion, and could never prove disobedient to their commands; and those few wise men who discerned the foul designs of those officers, and by what degrees they stole the hearts and affections of the soldiers, had not credit enough to be believed by their own party. And the joint confidence of the unanimous affection of the city of London to all their purposes, made them despise all opposition; but now, when they saw the King taken out of their hands in this manner, and with these circumstances, they found all their measures broken by which they had formed all their counsels. And as this letter from the general administered too much cause of jealousy of what was to succeed, so a positive information at the same time by many officers, and confirmed by a letter which the Lord Mayor of London had received, that the whole army was upon its march, and would be in London the next day by noon, so distracted them that they appeared beside themselves: however, they presently voted that the Houses should sit all the next day, being Sunday, and that Mr. Marshall should be there to pray for them: that the committee of safety should sit up all that night to consider what was to be done: that the lines of communication should be strongly guarded, and all the train-bands of London should be drawn together upon pain of death. All shops were shut up, and such a general confusion over all the town, and in the faces of all men, as if the army had already entered the town. The Parliament writ June 13.

[1] ['was,' MS.]

[2] [eleven months.]

1647 a letter to the general, desiring him that no part of the army
June 11. might come within five and twenty miles[1] of London, and that the King's person might be delivered to the former commissioners who had attended upon his majesty at Holmeby; and that colonel Rossiter and his regiment might be appointed for the guard of his person. The general returned for answer, that
June 12. the army was come to St. Alban's before the desire of the Parliament came to his hands, but that, in obedience to their commands, he would advance no farther; and desired that a month's pay might presently be sent for the army. In which they deferred not to gratify them; though as to the re-delivery of the King to the former commissioners, no other answer was returned than that they might rest assured that all care should be taken for his majesty's security.

93[2]. From that time both Cromwell and Ireton appeared in the council of officers, which they had never before done, and their expostulations with the Parliament began to be more brisk and contumacious than they had been. The King found himself at Newmarket attended by greater troops and superior officers, so that he was presently freed from any subjection to Mr. Joyce, which was no small satisfaction to him; and they who were about him appeared men of better breeding than the former, and paid his majesty all the respect imaginable, and seemed to desire to please him in all things. All restraint was taken off from persons resorting to him, and he saw every day the faces of many who were grateful to him; and he no sooner desired that some of his chaplains might have leave to attend upon him for his devotion but it was yielded to, and they who were named by him (who were Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Morley, Dr.
June. Saunderson, and Dr. Hammond) were presently sent, and gave their attendance, and performed their function at the ordinary hours in their accustomed formalities, all persons who had a mind to it being suffered to be present; to his majesty's infinite satisfaction, who began to believe that the army was not so

[1] [Within forty miles. The Common Council had petitioned Parliament to forbid the coming within twenty-five miles.]

[2] [§§ 93–102 from the *Life*, pp. 320–323.]

much his enemy as it was reported to be; and though Fayrefax 1647
nor Cromwell had not yet waited upon him, the army had sent April 21[1].
an address to him, full of protestation of duty, and besought him
that he would be content for some time to reside amongst them,
until the affairs of the kingdom were put into such a posture as
he might find all things to his own content and security; which
they infinitely desired to see as soon as might be, and to that
purpose made daily instances to the Parliament. In the mean
time he sat still, or removed to such places as were most con-
venient for the march of the army, being in all places as well
provided for and accommodated as he had used to be in any
progress; the best gentlemen of the several counties through
which he passed daily resorted to him without distinction; he
was attended by some of his old trusty servants in the places
nearest his person; and that which gave him most encourage-
ment to believe that they meant well, was, that in the army's
address to the Parliament they desired that care might be taken June 23.
for the settling the King's rights, according to the several
professions they had made in their declarations, and that the
royal party might be treated with more candour and less rigour.
And many good officers who had served his majesty faithfully
were civilly received by the officers of the army, and lived
quietly in their quarters, which they could not do anywhere
else; which raised a great reputation to the army throughout
the kingdom, and as much reproach upon the Parliament.

94. The Parliament at this time had recovered its spirits,
when they saw that the army did not march towards them, and
not only remained at St. Alban's, but was drawn back to a
farther distance; which persuaded them that their general was
displeased with their former advance: and so [they] proceeded
with all passion and vigour against those principal officers who,
they knew, contrived all these proceedings. They published July 31.
declarations[2] to the kingdom, that they desired to bring the

[1] [*Clar. S. P.* ii. 365. A paper containing the heads of another address said to be prepared by the army on June 19 is amongst the Clarendon MSS.; see *Calend. Clar. S. P.* i. 380.]

[2] [Printed by Edw. Husband, 2 Aug.]

1647 King in honour to his Parliament, which was their business from the beginning, and that he was detained prisoner against his will in the army, and that they had great reason to apprehend the safety of his person. The army, on the other hand, declared that his majesty was neither prisoner nor detained against his will; and appealed to his majesty himself, and to all his friends who had liberty to repair to him, whether he had not more liberty, and was not treated with more respect, since he came into the army than he had been at Holmeby, or during the time he remained in those places and with that retinue that the Parliament had appointed. The city seemed very unanimously devoted to the Parliament and incensed against the army; and seemed resolute not only with their train-bands and auxiliary regiments to assist and defend the Parliament, but appointed some of the old officers who had served under the earl of Essex, and had been disbanded under the new model, as Waller, Massy, and others, to list new forces; towards which there [was [1]] not like to be want of men out of their old forces, and such of the King's as would be glad of the employment. There was nothing they did really fear so much as that the army would make a firm conjunction with the King, and unite with his party, of which there was so much show; and many unskilful men, who wished it, bragged too much; and therefore the Parliament sent a committee to his majesty with an address of another style than they had lately used, with many professions of duty, and declaring that if he was not in all respects treated as he ought to be, and as he desired, it was not their fault, who desired that he might be at full liberty, and do what he would; hoping that the King would have been induced to desire to come to London, and to make complaint of the army's having taken him from Holmeby; by which they believed the King's party would be disabused, and withdraw their hopes of any good from the army; and then they thought they should be hard enough for them.

95. The King was in great doubt how to carry himself; he thought himself so barbarously used by the Presbyterians, and

[1] ['were,' MS.]

had so ill an opinion of all the principal persons who governed 1647
them, that he had no mind to put himself into their hands. On the other side, he was far from being satisfied with the army's good intentions towards him; and though many of his friends were suffered to resort to him, they found that their being long about with him would not be acceptable; and though the officers and soldiers appeared for the most part civil to him, they were all at least as vigilant as the former guards had been, so that he could not without great difficulty have got from them if he had desired it. Fayrefax had been with him, June 7.
and kissed his hand, and made such professions as he could well utter; which was with no advantage in the delivery; and his authority was therefore of no use, because he resigned himself entirely to Cromwell; who had been, and Ireton likewise, with the King, without either of them offering to kiss his hand; otherwise [they] behaved themselves with good manners towards him. His majesty used all the address he could towards them to draw some promise from them; but they were so reserved, stood so much upon a guard, and used so few words, that nothing could be concluded from what they said: they excused themselves for not seeing his majesty often, upon the great jealousies the Parliament had of them, towards whom they professed all fidelity. The persons who resorted to his majesty, and who brought advices from others who durst not yet offer to come themselves, brought several opinions to him; some thinking the army would deal sincerely with his majesty, others expecting no better from them than they afterwards performed: so that the King wisely concluded that he would neither reject the Parliament addresses by any neglect, nor disoblige the army by appearing to have jealousy of them, or a desire to be out of their hands; which he could hardly have done if he had known a better place to have resorted to. And so he desired both parties to hasten their consultations, that the kingdom might enjoy peace and happiness, in which he should not be without a share; and he would pray to God to bring this to pass as soon as was possible.

96. The news of the King's being in the army, of his freedom

1647 in the exercise of his religion, which he had been so long without, and that some of his servants with whom he was well pleased had liberty to attend upon him, made every body abroad, as well as those at home, hope well; and the King himself writ to the Queen as if he thought his condition much better than it had been amongst the Scots. Sir John Berkely, 1646 after his surrender of Exciter, and the spending his six months Apr. 13. allowed by the articles to solicit his affairs where he would, had transported himself into France, and waited upon the Queen at Paris, being still a menial servant to her majesty, and having a friend in that Court that governed, and loved him better than any body else. As soon as the reports came thither of the King's being with the army, he repeated many discourses he had held with the officers of the army, whilst they treated with him of the delivery of Exciter; how he had told them upon how slippery ground they stood; that the Parliament, when they had served their turn, would dismiss them with reproach, and give them very small rewards for the great service they had done for them; that they should do well seasonably to think of a safe retreat, which could be nowhere but under the protection of the King, who by their courage and virtue was brought very low; and if they raised him again, he must owe it all to them, and his posterity, as well as himself and all his party, must for ever acknowledge it, and so they would raise their fortunes, as well as their fames, to the greatest degree men could aim at; which, he said, made such an impression upon this and that officer, whom he named, that they told him at parting that they should never forget what he had said to them, and that they already observed that every day produced somewhat that would put them in mind of it. In a word, he had foretold all that was since come to pass, and he was most confident that if he were now with them he should be welcome, and have credit enough to bring them to reason, and to do the King great service; and offered, without any delay, to make the journey. The Queen believed all he said; and they who did not were very willing he should make the experiment; for he that loved him best was very willing to be without him;

and so, receiving the Queen's letter of recommendation of him to the King, who knew him very little, and that little not without great prejudice, he left Paris, and made all possible haste into England. 1647

97. John Ashburneham, who was driven from the King by the Scots after he had conducted his majesty to them, had transported himself into France, and was at this time residing in Rouen; having found, upon his address to the Queen at Paris upon his first arrival, that his abode in some other place would not be ungrateful to her majesty, and so he removed to Rouen, where he had the society of many who had served the King in the most eminent qualifications. When he heard where the King was, and that there was not the same restraint that had been formerly, he resolved to make an adventure to wait on him; having no reason to doubt but that his presence would be very acceptable to the King; and though the other envoy from Paris and he did not make their journey into England together, nor had the least communication with each other, being in truth of several parties and purposes, yet they arrived there, and at the army, near the same time. June.

98. Berkely first applied himself to those subordinate officers with whom he had some acquaintance at Exciter, and they informing their superiors of his arrival and application, they were well pleased that he was come. They were well acquainted with his talent, and knew his foible [1], that by flattering and commending they might govern him, and that there was no danger of any deep design from his contrivance; and so they permitted him freely to attend the King, about whose person he had no title or relation which required any constant waiting upon him.

99. Ashburneham had by some friends a recommendation both to Cromwell and to Ireton, who knew the credit he had with the King, and that his majesty would be very well pleased to have his attendance, and look upon it as a testimony of their respect to him. They knew likewise that he was an implacable enemy to the Scots, and no friend to the other Presbyterians, and though he had some ordinary craft in insinuating, he was

[1] ['fucable,' MS.]

1647 of no deep and piercing judgment to discover what was not unwarily exposed, and a free speaker of what he imagined; [so] they likewise left him at liberty to repair to the King. And these two gentlemen came near about the same time to his majesty, when the army was drawing together, with a purpose, which was not yet published, of marching to London; his majesty being still quartered in those places which were more proper for that purpose.

100. They were both welcome to his majesty; the one bringing a special recommendation from the Queen, and, to make himself the more valuable, assured his majesty, that he was sent for by the officers of the army as one they would trust, and who had received him with open arms, and without any scruple gave him leave to wait upon him: the other needed no recommendation, the King's own inclinations disposing him to be very gracious unto him; and so his majesty wished them to correspond with each other, and to converse with his several friends, who did not yet think fit to resort to him, and to receive their advice; to discover as much as they could of the intentions of both parties, and impart what was fit to the King, till upon a farther discovery his majesty might better judge what to do. And these two were the principal agents, (they conferring with all his majesty's friends, and as often as they desired with the officers of the army,) upon whose information and advice his majesty principally depended, though they rarely conferred together with the same persons, and never with any of the officers, who pretended not to trust one another enough to speak with that freedom before each other as they would to one of them; and their acquaintance amongst the officers not being principally with the same men, their informations and advices were often very different, and more perplexed than informed his majesty.

101. The very high contests between the Parliament and the army, in which neither side could be persuaded to yield to the other, or abate any of their asperity, made many prudent men believe that both sides would in the end be willing to make the King the umpire; which neither of them ever intended to do.

The Parliament thought that their name and authority, which 1647
had carried them through so great undertakings, and reduced the whole kingdom to their obedience, could not be overpowered by their own army, raised and paid by themselves, and to whose dictates the people would never submit. They thought the King's presence amongst them gave them all their present reputation, and were not without apprehension that the ambition of some of the officers, and their malice to the Parliament, when they saw that they could obtain their ends no other way, might dispose them to an entire conjunction with the King's party and interest; and then, all the penalties of treason, rebellion, and trespasses, must be discharged at their costs; and therefore they laboured, by all the public and private means they could, to persuade the King to own his being detained prisoner by the army against his will, or to withdraw himself by some way from them, and repair to Whitehall. And in either of those cases, they did not doubt, first, to divide the army, (for they still believed the general fast to them,) and by degrees to bring them to reason, and to be disbanded; as many as were not necessary for the service of Ireland; and then, having the King to themselves, and all his party being obnoxious to those penalties for their delinquency, they should be well able, by gratifying some of the greatest persons of the nobility with immunity and indemnity, [to][1] settle the government in such a manner as to be well recompensed for all the adventures they had made and hazards they had run.

102. On the other hand, the army had no dread of the authority and power of the Parliament, which they knew had been so far prostituted that it had lost most of its reverence with the people; but it had great apprehension that by its conjunction with the city it might indeed recover credit with the kingdom, and withhold the pay of the army, and thereby make some division amongst them; and if the person of the King should be likewise with them, and thereby his party should likewise join with them, they should be to begin their work again, or to make their peace with those who were as much

[1] ['they should,' MS.]

1647 provoked by them as the King himself had been. And therefore they were sensible that they enjoyed a present benefit by the King's being with them, and by their treating him with the outward respect that was due to his majesty, and the civilities they made profession of towards all his party, and the permission of his chaplains and other servants to resort to him; and cultivated all these artifices with great address, and suppressing or discountenancing the tyranny of the Presbyterians in the country committees and all other places, where they exercised notable rigour against all who had been of the King's party, or not enough of theirs, for neutrals found no excuse for being of no party. When they found fit to make any lusty declaration against the Parliament, and exclaim against their tyrannical proceedings against the army, they always inserted somewhat that might look like candour and tenderness towards the King's party, complained of the affront and indignity done to the army by the Parliament's not observing the articles which had been made upon surrender of garrisons, but proceeding against those on whose behalf those articles were made with more severity than was agreeable to justice and to the intention of the articles, whereby the honour and faith of the army suffered and was complained of; all which, they said, they would have remedied. Whereupon many hoped that they should be excused from making any compositions, and entertained such other imaginations as pleased themselves, and the other party well liked, knowing they could demolish all those structures as soon as they received no benefit by them themselves.

103[1]. The King had, during the time he stayed at Holmeby, writ to the House of Peers that his children might have leave to come to him, and to reside for some time with him. From the time that Oxford had been surrendered, upon which the duke of York had fallen into their hands,—for they would by no means admit that he should have liberty to go to such place as the King should direct, which was very earnestly pressed and insisted on by the lords of the Council there as long as they could, but appointed their committee to receive him with

[1] [§§ 103–108 from the *Hist.*, pp. 12–15.]

all respect, and to bring him to London: and from that time, 1647
I say,—the duke of York was committed to the care of the earl of Northumberland, together with the duke of Gloster, and two princesses, who had been by the King left under the tuition of the countess of Dorset, but from the death of that countess the Parliament had presumed (that they might be sure to keep them in their power) to put them into the custody of the lady Veare[1], an old lady much in their favour, but not at all ambitious of that charge, though there was a competent allowance assigned for their support. They were now removed from her, and placed all together with the earl of Northumberland, who received and treated them in all respects as was suitable to their birth and his own duty, but could give them no more liberty to go abroad than he was in his instructions from the Parliament permitted to do; and they had absolutely refused to gratify the King in that particular; of which his majesty no sooner took notice to Fayrefax, than he writ a letter to the July 8.
Parliament, that the King much desired to have the sight and company of his children, and that if they might not be allowed to be longer with him, that at least they might dine with him; and he sent them word that on such a day the King, (who attended the motion of the army, and was quartered only where they pleased), would dine at Maydenhead. There his children July 15.
met him, to his infinite content and joy; and he being to quarter and stay some time at Ca[ver]s[h]am, (a house of the lord Craven's, near Reading,) his children were likewise suffered to go thither, and remained with him two days; which was the greatest satisfaction the King could receive, and the receiving whereof he imputed to the civility of the general and the good disposition of the army; which made so much the more impression upon him, in that he had never made any one pro-

[1] [The *Journals* of Parliament show that Clarendon is here in error. On June 28, 1643, the House of Commons voted that lady Vere should be put in charge, but the House of Lords deferred concurrence until she had been communicated with. On July 29 in that year both Houses ordered that the countess of Dorset be appointed governess, but on March 18, 1645, committed the charge of the children to the earl of Northumberland instead. The countess died May 16, 1645, and on the following day it was ordered that the vote of March 18 should take effect. See note to § 115.]

1647 position in which he had been gratified where the Presbyterian spirit had power to deny it.

104[1]. In the House of Commons, which was the scene of all the action that displeased and incensed the army, (for the House of Peers was shrunk into so inconsiderable a number, and their persons not considerable after the death of the earl of Essex, except those who were affected to, or might be disposed by, the army,) they were wholly guided by Hollis and Stapleton, Lewes and Glinn, who had been very popular and notorious from the beginning, and by Waller and Massy and Browne, who had served in commands in the army, and performed at some times very signal services, and were exceedingly beloved in the city, and two or three others who followed their dictates, and were subservient to their directions. These were all men of parts, interest, and signal courage, and did not only heartily abhor the intentions which they discerned the army to have, or that it was wholly to be disposed according to the intentions of Cromwell, but had likewise declared animosities against the persons of the most active and powerful officers; as Hollis had
April 2. one day, upon a very hot debate in the House, and some rude expressions which fell from Ireton, persuaded him to walk out of the House with him, and then told him that he should presently go over the water and fight with him. Ireton told him his conscience would not suffer him to fight a duel; upon which Hollis, in choler, pulled him by the nose, telling him, if his conscience would keep him from giving men satisfaction, it should keep him from provoking them. This affront to the third person of the army, and to a man of the most virulent, malicious, and revengeful nature of all the pack, so incensed the whole party, that they were resolved one way or other to be rid of him, who had that power in the House, and that reputation abroad, that when he could not absolutely control their designs, he did so obstruct them that they could not advance to any conclusion.

105. They resorted therefore to an expedient which they had observed, by the conduct of those very men against whom they

[1] [The first sentence in this section is from the *Life*, p. 323.]

meant to apply it, had brought to pass all that they desired; 1647
and in the council of officers prepared an impeachment of high June 14.
treason in general terms against Mr. Hollis and the persons
mentioned before, and others, to the number of eleven members
of the House of Commons. And this impeachment twelve
officers of the army, colonels, lieutenant colonels, majors, and
captains, presented to the House; and within few days after, June 16.
when they saw the same members still inveigh against and
arraign their proceedings, the general and officers writ a letter
to the House, that they would appoint fit persons on their and
the kingdom's behalf to make good their charge against those
members whom they had accused; and that they desired that June 23.
those members impeached might be forthwith suspended from
sitting in the House, since it could not be thought fit that the
same persons who had so much injured and provoked the army
should sit judges of their own actions. This was an arrow that
they [the House of Commons] did not expect could have been
shot out of that quiver; and though they were unspeakably
dismayed and distracted with this presumption, they answered
positively that they neither would nor could sequester those June 25.
members from the House, who had never said or done any thing
in the House worthy of censure, till proof were made of such
particulars as might render them guilty. But the officers of June 29.
the army replied, that they could prove them guilty of such
practices in the House that it would be just in the House to
suspend them; that by the laws of the land, and the precedents
of Parliament, they upon the very presentation of general
accusation, without being reduced into writing, sequestered
from the House, and committed, the earl of Strafford, the arch-
bishop of Canterbury, and the lord Finch; and therefore they
must press and insist upon the suspending, at least, of these
accused members from being present in the House, where they
stood impeached; and without this, they said, the army would
not be satisfied. However the Parliament seemed resolute,
the accused persons themselves, who best knew their temper, June 26.
thought it safer for them to retire, and by forbearing to be pre-
sent in the House, to allay the heat of the present contest.

1647 106. Upon this so palpable declension of spirit in the House, the army seemed much quieter, and resolved to set other agents on their work, that they might not appear too busy and active in their own concernment. It is very true that the city, upon whose influence the Parliament wholly depended, appeared entirely Presbyterian; the Court of Aldermen and Common Council consisted only of men of that spirit; the militia of the city was committed to commissioners carefully and factiously chosen of that party, all those of another temper having been put out of those trusts, at or about the time that the King was delivered by the Scots, when the officers of the army were content that the Presbyterians should believe that the whole power of the kingdom was in them, and that they might settle what government they pleased. If there remained any persons in any of those employments in the city, it was by their dissimulation, and pretending to have other affections; all who were notorious to be of any other faction in religion had been put out, and lived as neglected and discountenanced men, who seemed rather to depend upon the clemency and indulgence of the State for their particular liberty in the exercise of that religion they adhered to, than to have any hope or ambition to be again admitted into any share or part in the government. Yet, after all this dissimulation, Cromwell and Ireton well knew that the multitude of inferior people were at their disposal, and would appear in any conjuncture they should think convenient; and that many aldermen and substantial citizens were quiet, and appeared not to contradict or oppose the Presbyterians, only by their directions, and would be ready upon their call. And now, when they saw those leading men who had governed the Parliament prosecuted by the army, and that they forbore to come to the House, they flocked together in great numbers of the lowest and most inferior people to the Parliament, with petitions of several natures, both with reference to religion and to the civil government; with the noise and clamour whereof the Parliament was so offended and disturbed, that they made
July 24. an ordinance that it should be treason to gather and solicit the subscription of hands to petitions. But this order so offended

all parties, that they were compelled within two days to revoke 1647
it, and to leave all men to their natural liberty. Whilst this July 26.
confusion was in the city and Parliament, the commissioners
which had been sent to the army to treat with the officers had
no better success, but returned with the positive and declared July 21.
resolution of the army, that a declaration should be published
by the Parliament against the coming in of any foreign force:
(for they apprehended, or rather were willing that the people
should apprehend, a new combination by the Scots:) that the
pay of the army should be put into a constant course, and all
persons who had received money should be called to an account:
that the militia of London should be put into the hands of
persons well affected, and those who had been formerly trusted:
that all persons imprisoned for pretended misdemeanours, by
order of Parliament or their committees, might be set at liberty,
and if upon trial they should be found innocent, that they might
have good reparation. And they particularly mentioned John
Lilborne, Overton, and other Anabaptists and fanatics, who had
been committed by the Parliament for many seditious meetings,
under pretence of exercise of their religion, and many insolent
actions against the government. Upon the report of these
demands the Parliament grew more enraged; and voted that
the yielding to the army in these particulars would be against
their honour and their interest, and destructive to their privi-
leges, with many expressions against their presumption and in-
solence: yet, when a new rabble of petitioners demanded, with
loud cries, most of the same things, they were willing to com-
pound with them, and consented that the militia of the city of July 23.
London should be put into such hands as the army should desire.

107. The militia of the city had been in the beginning of
May, shortly after the King's being brought to Holmeby, settled
with the consent and upon the desire of the Common Council,
by ordinance of Parliament, in the hands of commissioners, who May 4.
were all of the Presbyterian party, they who were of other
inclinations being removed, and, as is said before, seemed not
displeased at their disgrace; and now, when upon the declara-
tion and demands of the army, seconded by clamorous petitions,

1647 they saw this ordinance reversed, in the beginning of July, without so much as consulting with the Common Council according to custom, the city was exceedingly startled, and said, that if the imperious command of the army could prevail with the Parliament to reverse such an ordinance as that of the militia, they had reason to apprehend they might as well repeal the other ordinances for the security of money, or for their purchase of bishops' and church lands, or whatsoever else that was the proper security of the subject. And therefore they caused a petition to be prepared in the name of the city to be presented by the two shrieves, and others deputed by the Common Council to that purpose. But, before they were ready,
July 26. many thousand apprentices and young citizens brought petitions to the Parliament, in which they said, that the command of the militia of the city was the birthright of the city, and belonged to them by several charters, which had been confirmed in Parliament; for defence whereof, they said, they had ventured their lives as far and as frankly as the army had done; and therefore they desired that the ordinance of Parliament of the fourth of May, which had passed with their consent, might stand inviolable. They first presented their petition to the House of Peers, who immediately revoked their late ordinance of July, and confirmed their former of May; and sent it down to the Commons for their consent, who durst not deny their concurrence, the apprentices behaving themselves so insolently that they would scarce suffer the door of the House of Commons to be shut, and some of them went into the House.

108. And in this manner the ordinance was reversed that had been made at the desire of the army, and the other, of May, ratified and confirmed; which was no sooner done than the Parliament adjourned till Friday, that they might have two or three days to consider how they should behave themselves, and prevent the like violences hereafter. The army had quickly
July 29. notice of these extraordinary proceedings, and the general writ a very sharp letter to them from Bedford; in which he put them in mind how civilly the army had complied with their desire, by removing to a greater distance, upon presumption

that their own authority would have been able to have secured 1647
them from any rudeness and violence of the people; which it was now evident it could not do, by the unparalleled violation of all their privileges on the Monday before, by a multitude from the city, which had been encouraged by divers Common Council men and other citizens in authority; which was an act so prodigious and horrid as must dissolve all government, if not severely and exemplarily chastised: that the army looked upon themselves as accountable to the kingdom, if this unheard of outrage, by which the peace and settlement of the nation and the relief of Ireland had been so notoriously interrupted, should not be strictly examined, and justice speedily done upon the offenders. Upon the Friday, to which both Houses had adjourned, the July 30.
members came together in as full numbers as they had used to meet, there being above one hundred and forty of the House of Commons; but after they had sat some time in expectation of their Speaker, they were informed that he was gone out of the town early that morning; and they observed that sir Harry Vane, and some few other members who used to concur with him, were likewise absent. The House of Peers found likewise that the earl of Manchester, their Speaker, had withdrawn himself, together with the earl of Northumberland, and some other lords; but the major part still remained there, full of indignation against those who were absent, and who they all concluded were gone to the army. Hereupon both Houses chose new Speakers, who accepted the office; and presently voted that the eleven members who stood impeached by the army, and had discontinued coming to the House, should presently appear and take their places. They made an ordinance of Parliament by which a committee of safety was appointed to join with the city militia, and had authority to raise men for the defence of the Parliament; to which they appeared so vigorously resolved that no man in the Houses or the city seemed to intend any thing else. The news of this roused up the army, and the general presently sent a good party of horse into Windsor, and Aug. 2.
marched himself to Uxbridge, and appointed a general rendezvous for the whole army upon Houneslow Heath, within two

1647 Aug. 3. days; when and where there appeared twenty thousand foot and horse, with a train of artillery, and all other provisions proportionable to such an army.

Aug. 24. 109[1]. As soon as the rendezvous was appointed at Houneslow heath, at the same time the King removed to Hampton Court, which was prepared and put into as good order for his reception as could have been done in the best time. The Houses seemed for some time to retain their spirit and vigour, and the city talked of listing men, and defending themselves, and not suffering the army to approach nearer to them: but when they knew the day of the rendezvous, those in both Houses who had been too weak to carry any thing, and so had looked on whilst such votes were passed as they liked not and could not oppose, now, when their friend the army was so near, recovered their spirits, and talked very loud, and persuaded the rest to think in time of making their peace with the army, that could not be withstood. And the city grew every day more appalled, irresolute, and confounded, one man proposing this, and another somewhat contrary to that, like men amazed and distracted. So that when the army met there upon Houneslow Heath at their rendezvous, the Speakers of both Houses, who had privately before met with the chief officers of the army, appeared there with their maces, and such other members as accompanied them; complaining to the general that they had not freedom at Westminster, but were in danger of their lives by the tumults, and appealed to the army for their protection.

110. This looked like a new act of Providence to vindicate them from all reproaches, and to justify them in all they had done, as absolutely done for the preservation of the Parliament and kingdom. If this had been a retreat of sir Harry Vane and some other discontented men, who were known to be Independents and fanatic in their opinions in religion, and of the army faction, who, being no longer able to oppose the wisdom of the Parliament, had fled to their friends for protection from justice, they would have got no reputation, nor the army been thought the better of for their company: but neither of

[1] [§§ 109–115, from the *Life*, pp. 323–5.]

the Speakers were ever looked upon as inclined to the army. 1647
Lenthall was generally believed to have no malice towards the King, and not to be without good inclinations to the Church; and the earl of Manchester, who was Speaker of the House of Peers, was known to have all the prejudice imaginable against Cromwell, and had formerly accused him of want of duty to the Parliament, and the other hated him above all men, and desired to have taken away his life. The earl of Manchester and the earl of Warwick were the two pillars of the Presbyterian party; and that they two, with the earl of Northumberland, and some other of the Lords, and some of the Commons, who had appeared to dis[ap]prove all the proceedings of the army, should now join with sir Harry Vane, and appeal to the army for protection, with that formality as if they had brought the whole Parliament with them, and had been entirely driven and forced away by the city, appeared to every stander-by so stupendous a thing, that it is not to this day understood, otherwise than that they were resolved to have their particular shares in the treaty which they believed the chief officers of the army to have near concluded with the King. For that they never intended to put the whole power into the hands of the army, nor had any kindness to or confidence in the officers thereof, was very apparent by their carriage and behaviour after, as well as before; and if they had continued together, considering how much the city was devoted to them, it is probable that the army would not have used any force, which might have received a fatal repulse, but that some good compromise might have been made by the interposition of the King. But this schism carried all the reputation and authority to the army, and left none in the Parliament; for though it presently appeared that the number of those who left the Houses was very small in comparison of those who remained behind, and who proceeded with the same vigour in declaring against the army, and the city seemed as resolute in putting themselves into a posture and preparing for their defence, all their works and fortifications being still entire, so that they might have put the army to great trouble if they had steadily

1647 pursued their resolutions, (which they did not yet seem in any degree to decline,) [yet] this rent made all the accused members, who were the men of parts and reputation to conduct their counsels, withdraw themselves upon the astonishment; some concealing themselves till they had opportunity to make their peace, and others withdrawing and transporting themselves beyond the seas; whereof Stapleton died at Calice as soon as he landed, and was denied burial, upon the imagination that he had died of the plague: and others remained a long time beyond the seas, and though they, long after, returned, never were received into any trust, nor in truth concurred and acted in the public affairs, but retired to their own estates, and lived very privately.

111. The chief officers of the army received the two Speakers and the members who accompanied them as so many angels sent from heaven for their good, paid them all the respect imaginable, and professed all submission to them, as to the Parliament of England; and declared that they would re-establish them in their full power, or perish in the attempt; took very particular care for their accommodation, before the general, and assigned a guard to wait upon them for their security; acquainted them with all their consultations, and would not presume to resolve any thing without their approbation; and they had too much modesty to think they could do amiss who had prospered so much in all their undertakings. No time was lost in pursuing their resolution to establish the Parliament again at Westminster; and finding that the rest of the members continued still to sit there with the same formality, and that the city did not abate any of their spirit, they seemed to make a halt, and to remain quiet, in expectation of a better understanding between them, upon the messages they every day sent to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and Common Council, (for of those at Westminster they took no notice,) and quartered their army about Brayneford and Houne-slow, Twitnam [1], and the adjacent villages, without restraining any provisions, which every day, according to custom, were

[1] ['Thistleworth,' *i.e.* Isleworth, is also mentioned in the *Hist.*, p. 15.]

carried to London, or doing the least action that might dis- 1647
oblige or displease the city; the army being in truth under so excellent discipline that nobody could complain of any damage sustained by them, or any provocation by word or deed. However, in this calm they sent over colonel Raynsborough with a brigade of horse and foot and cannon, at Hampton Court, to possess Southwark, and those works which secured that end of London Bridge; which he did with so little noise, Aug. 3.
that in one night's march he found himself master, without any opposition, not only of the borough of Southwark but of all the works and forts which were to defend it; the soldiers within shaking hands with those without, and refusing to obey their officers which were to command them: so that the city, without knowing that any such thing was in agitation, found in the morning that all that avenue to the town was possessed by the enemy that they were providing to resist on the other side, being as confident of this that they had lost as of any gate of the city.

112. This struck them dead, and put an end to all their consultation for defence, and put other thoughts into their heads, how they might pacify those whom they had so much offended and provoked, and how they might preserve their city from plunder and the fury of an enraged army. They who had ever been of the army party and of late had shut themselves up, and not dared to walk in the streets for fear of the people, came now confidently amongst them, and mingled in their councils; declared that the King and army were now agreed in all particulars, and that both Houses were now with the army, and had presented themselves to the King; so that to oppose the army would be to oppose King and Parliament, and to incense them as much as the army. Upon such confident discourses and insinuations from those with whom they would not have conversed, or given the least credit to, three days before, or rather upon the confusion and general distraction they were in, they sent[1] six aldermen and six commoners to the

[1] [The text from here to the words 'on the behalf of the city' is from the *Hist.*, p. 15.]

1647 general; who lamented and complained that the city should be suspected, that had never acted any thing against the Parliament, and therefore they desired him to forbear doing any thing that might be the occasion of a new war. But the general little considered this message, and gave less countenance to the
Aug. 5. messengers, but continued his slow marches towards the city: whereupon they sent an humble message to him, that, since they understood that the reason of his march so near London was to restore and settle the members, the Lords and Commons of Parliament, to the liberty and privilege of sitting securely in their several Houses, (to which the city would contribute all their power and service,) they prayed him, with all submission, that he would be pleased to send such a guard of horse and foot as he thought to be sufficient for that purpose, and that the ports and all passages should be open to them; and they should do any thing else that his excellency would command. To which he made no other answer but that he would have all the forts of the west side of the city to be delivered immediately to him; those of the other side being already, as is said, in the hands of Raynsborough and his other officers. The Common Council, that sat day and night, upon the receipt of this message, without any pause, returned, that they would humbly submit to his command, and that now, under Almighty God, they did rely only upon his excellency's honourable word for their protection and security. And so they caused their militia to be forthwith drawn off from the line, as well as out of the forts, with all their cannon and ordnance; and the general
Aug. 6. appointed a better guard to both. At Hyde Park the Mayor and Aldermen met him, and humbly congratulated his arrival, and besought him to excuse what they had, out of their good meaning and desire of peace, done amiss; and as a testimony of their affection and duty, the Mayor, on the behalf of the city, presented a great gold cup to the general, which he sullenly refused to receive, and, with very little ceremony, dismissed them; and himself waited upon the two Speakers, and conducted them and their members to the several Houses, where the other members were then sitting, even in the instant when the

revolters (as they called them) entered in the Houses, the old 1647
Speakers assuming their places again; and entered upon their business as if there had been no separation.

113. The first thing they did, was calling in the general into both Houses, and making him a large acknowledgment in the name of each House, of the great favours he had done to them: thanked him for the protection he had given to their persons, and his vindication of the privileges of Parliament. Then they voted all that had been done by themselves in going to the army and in residing there, and all that had been done by the army, to be well and lawfully done; and that all that had been done in the Houses since their departure was against law and privilege of Parliament, invalid and void; and then they adjourned to the next day, without questioning or punishing any member who had acted there.

114. The army of horse, foot, and cannon marched the next day through the city, (which, upon the desire of the Parliament, undertook forthwith to supply £100,000 for the payment of the army,) without the least disorder, or doing the least damage to any person, or giving any disrespective word to any man: by which they attained the reputation of being in excellent discipline, and that both officers and soldiers were men of extraordinary temper and sobriety. And so they marched over London Bridge into Southwark, and so to those quarters to which they were assigned: some regiments were quartered in Westminster, the Strand, and Holborn, under pretence of being a guard to the Parliament, but intended as a guard upon the city. The general's head-quarters [were[1]] at Chelsy, and the rest of the army quartered between Hampton Court and London, that the King might be well looked to; and the council of officers and agitators sat constantly and formally at Fulham and Chelsy, to provide that no other settlement should be made for the government of the kingdom than what they should well approve.

115. Whilst these things were thus agitated between the army and the Parliament and the city, the King enjoyed

[1] ['was,' MS.]

1647 himself at Hampton Court much to his content, the respects of the chief officers of the army seeming much greater than they had been; Cromwell himself came oftener to him, and held long conferences with him, talked with more openness to Mr. Ashburnham than he had done, and appeared more cheerful. Persons of all conditions repaired to his majesty of those who had served him, lords and ladies, with whom he conferred without reservation; and the citizens flocked thither, as they had used to do at the end of a progress, when the King had been some months absent from London: but that which pleased his majesty most, was, that his children were permitted to come to him, in whom he took great delight[1]. They were all three at the earl of Northumberland's house at Syon, from the time the King came to Hampton Court, and had liberty to attend his majesty when he pleased; so that sometimes he sent for them to come to him to Hampton Court,

[1] [The following passage is here struck out in the MS., as being only a repetition of what has been said elsewhere.

'His eldest daughter was married, and had been some time in Holland; the Prince was in France, but all the rest of his children were in the power of the Parliament, except only the youngest, the princess Henrietta, whom he had never seen, she being born at Exciter very little before the Queen's transportation into France, and, after the surrender of Exciter, having been by her governess, the countess of Mourton, stolen away, and with great success carried into France to the Queen, whilst the King was at Newcastle, according to the command she had received. When the King left Oxford to make an escape from the army, and to put himself into the hands of the Scots, he could not but leave the duke of York behind him, whom he had before thought to have sent into Ireland, when he believed his affairs there to be in a better condition than he then understood them to be; and so he remained in Oxford, and when that place was surrendered his highness was received by the committee of the Parliament, to whom then the army paid all obedience, nor would it be admitted in the treaty that his highness should have liberty to go to such place as the King should appoint. There were at the same time the duke of Gloster and two princesses, who had been all under the care of the countess of Dorset, the governess appointed by the King; but she being lately dead, and one of the princesses likewise departed this life[1], when the duke of York was brought up to London he and the other two were all committed by the Parliament to the care and government of the earl of Northumberland, who treated them in all respects as was agreeable to their quality and his duty.']

[1] [The princess Anne had died long before, viz. on Dec. 8, 1640.]

and sometimes he went to them to Syon; which gave him great divertisement. 1647

116[1]. In this conversation, as if his majesty had foreseen all that befell him afterwards, and which at that time sure he did not suspect, he took great care to instruct his children how to behave themselves, if the worst should befall him that the worst of his enemies [did] contrive or wish, and that they should preserve unshaken their affection and duty to the Prince their brother. The duke of York was then about fifteen years of age, and so, capable of any information or instruction the King thought fit to give him. His majesty told him, that he looked upon himself as in the hands and disposal of the army, and that the Parliament had no more power to do him good or harm than as the army should direct or permit; and that he knew not, in all this time he had been with them, what he might promise himself from those officers of the army at whose devotion it was: that he hoped well, yet with much doubt and fear; and therefore he gave him this general direction and command, that if there appeared any such alteration in the affection of the army that they restrained him from the liberty he then enjoyed of seeing his children, or suffered not his friends to resort to him with that freedom that they enjoyed at present, he might conclude that they would shortly use him worse, and that he should not be long out of a prison; and therefore that from the time that he discovered such an alteration, he should bethink himself how he might make an escape out of their power, and transport himself beyond the seas. The place he recommended to him was Holland; where he presumed his sister would receive him very kindly, and that the Prince of Aurange her husband would be well pleased with it, though possibly the States might restrain him from making those expressions of his affection as his own inclination prompted him to. He wished him to think always of this, as a thing possible to fall out, and so spake frequently to him of it, and of the circumstances and cautions which were necessary to attend it.

[1] [§§ 116–120 from the *Hist.*, pp. 15–17.]

1647 117. The princess Elizabeth was not above a year or two younger than the duke, and a lady of excellent parts, great observation, and an early understanding; which the King discerned by the account she gave him both of things and persons, upon the experience she had had of both. His majesty enjoined her, upon the worst that could befall him, never to be disposed of in marriage without the consent and approbation of the Queen her mother and the Prince her brother, and always to perform all duty and obedience to both those; and to obey the Queen in all things, except in matters of religion, to which he commanded her, upon his blessing, never to hearken or consent, but to continue firm in the religion she had been instructed and educated in, what discountenance and ruin soever might befall the poor Church, at that time under so severe persecution.

118. The duke of Gloster was very young, being at that time not above seven years old, and so might well be thought incapable of retaining that advice and injunction which in truth ever after made so deep impression in him. After he had given him all the advice he thought convenient in the matter of religion, and commanded him positively never to be persuaded or threatened out of the religion of the Church, in which he hoped he would be well instructed, and for the purity and integrity whereof he bad him remember that he had his father's testimony and authority, his majesty told him that his infancy, and the tenderness of his years, might persuade some men to hope and believe that he might be made an instrument and property to advance their wicked designs; and if they should take away his life, they might possibly, the better to attain their own ends, make him King, that under him, whilst his age would not permit him to judge and act for himself, they might remove many obstructions which lay in their way, and form and unite their councils; and then they would destroy him too. But he commanded him, upon his blessing, never to forget what he said to him upon this occasion, nor to accept or suffer himself to be made King whilst either of his elder brothers lived, in what part of the

world soever they should be: that he should remember that 1647
the Prince his brother was to succeed him by the laws of God and man; and if he should miscarry, that the duke of York was to succeed in the same right; and therefore that he should be sure never to be made use of to interrupt or disturb either of their rights, which would in the end turn to his own destruction. And this discourse the King reiterated to him as often as he had liberty to see him, with all the earnestness and passion he could express; and which was so fixed in his memory that he never forgat it; and many years after, when he was sent out of England, he made the full relation of all the particulars to me, with that commotion of spirit that it appeared to be deeply rooted in him; and made use of one part of it very seasonably afterwards, when there was more than an ordinary attempt made to have perverted him in his religion, and to persuade him to become Catholic for the advancement of his fortune[1].

119. In this manner, and with this kind of reflections, the King made use of the liberty he enjoyed; and considered as well what remedies to apply to the worst that could fall out, as to caress the officers of the army in order to the improvement of his condition, of which he was not yet in any despair, the chief officers, and all the heads of that party, looking upon it as their wisest policy to cherish the King's hopes, by the liberty they gave him, and by a very flowing courtesy towards all who had been of his party; whose expectation, and good word and testimony, they found did them much good both in the city and the country.

120. At this time the lord Capell whom we left in Jarsy, hearing of the difference between the Parliament and the army, left his two friends there, and made a journey to Paris to the Prince, that he might receive his highness's approbation of his going for England; which he very willingly gave, well knowing that he would improve all opportunities with great diligence for the King his father's service: and then he transported himself into Zeland, his friends having advised him to be in

[1] [In 1654. See *Calend. Clar. S. P.* ii. 408, 414.]

1647 those parts before they endeavoured to procure a pass for him; which they easily did as soon as he came thither[1]; and so he had liberty to remain at his own house in the country[2], where he was exceedingly beloved, and hated nowhere. And in this general and illimited indulgence he took the opportunity to wait upon the King at Hampton Court, and gave him a particular account of all that had passed at Jarsy before the Prince's remove from thence, and of the reasons which induced those of the council to remain still there, and of many other particulars of which his majesty had never before been informed, and which put it out of any body's power to do the Chancellor [of the Exchequer] any ill offices: and from thence the King writ, with his own hand, a very gracious and kind letter to the Chancellor at Jarsy, full of hope that he should conclude such a treaty with the army and Parliament that he should shortly draw him and some other of his friends to him. He thanked him for undertaking the work he was upon, and told him he should expect speedily to receive some contribution from him towards it; and within a very short time afterwards he sent to him his own memorials, or those which by his command had been kept and were perused and corrected by himself, of all that had passed from the time he had left his majesty at Oxford, when he waited upon the Prince into the west, to the very day that the King left Oxford to go to the Scots; out of which memorials, as hath been said before[3], the most important passages in the years 1644 and 1645 are faithfully collected. To the lord Capell his majesty imparted all his hopes and all his fears; and what great overtures the Scots had again made to him; and that he did really believe that it could not be long before there would be a war between the two nations, in which the Scots promised themselves an universal concurrence from all the Presbyterians in England; and that in such a conjuncture he wished that his own party would put themselves in arms, without which he could not

[1] [About the end of Feb. *Cal. Clar. S. P.* i. 365.]
[2] [March 13. *Lords' Journ.* ix. 78.]
[3] [*Life*, part v.; but the dates there given are 1645, 1646.]

expect great benefit by the success of the other; and therefore 1647
desired Capell to watch such a conjuncture, and draw his friends together; which he promised to do effectually; which he did very punctually afterwards, to the loss of his own life. Then the King enjoined him to write to the Chancellor that whenever the Queen or Prince should require him to come to them, he should not fail to yield obedience to that command; and himself writ to the Queen, that whenever the season should be ripe for the Prince to engage himself in any action, she should not fail to send for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to wait upon him in it. And many things were then adjusted upon the foresight of future contingencies, which were afterwards thought fit to be executed.

121. The marquis of Ormonde had, by special command and order from the King whilst he was with the Scots at Newcastle, delivered up the city of Dublin to the Parliament, after the June 19.
Irish had so infamously broken the peace they had made with the King, and brought their whole army before Dublin to besiege it; by which he was reduced to those straits that he had no other election than to deliver it to the Irish or to the Parliament; of which his majesty being informed, determined he should give it to the Parliament[1]; which he did, with full conditions for all those who had served his majesty; and so transported himself into England, and, from London, presented himself to the King at Hampton Court; who received him with end of
extraordinary grace, as a person who had served him with Aug.[2]
great zeal and fidelity, and with the most universal testimony of all good men that any man could receive. He used less application to the Parliament and army than other men, relying upon the articles the Parliament had signed to him; by which he had liberty to stay so many months in England, and at the end thereof to transport himself into the parts beyond the seas, if in the meantime he made no composition with the Parliament: which he never intended to do; and though he knew well that there were many jealous eyes upon him, he repaired frequently to present his duty to the King: who was

[1] [Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, i. 601.] [2] [*Ibid.* ii. 11.]

1647 exceedingly pleased to confer with him, and to find that he was resolved to undertake any enterprise that might advance his service; which the King himself, and most other men who wished well to it, did at that time believe to be in no desperate condition. And no men were fuller of professions of duty, and a resolution to run all hazards, than the Scotch commissioners; who from the time they had delivered up the King resided at London with their usual confidence, and loudly complained of the presumption of the army in seizing upon the person of the King, insinuated themselves to all those who were thought to be most constant and inseparable from the interest of the Crown, with passionate undertaking that their whole nation would be united to a man in any enterprise for his service. And now, from the time his majesty came to Hampton [Court,] they came to him with as much presumption as if they had carried him to Edenborough; which was the more notorious, and was thought to signify the more, because their persons were known to be most odious to all the great officers in the army, and to those who now governed in the Parliament. And here the foundation of that Engagement was laid which was endeavoured to be performed the next year ensuing, and which the Scots themselves communicated to the marquis of Ormonde, the lord Capell, and other trusty persons, as[1] if there was nothing else intended in it than a full vindication of all his majesty's rights and interest.

122. When the army had thus subdued all opposition, and the Parliament and they seemed all of a piece, and the refractory humours of the city seemed to be suppressed and totally tamed, the army seemed less regardful of the King than they had been; the chief officers came rarely to Hampton Court, nor had the same countenances towards Ashburnham and Berkely as they used to have, were not at leisure to speak with them, and when they did, asked captious questions, and gave answers themselves of no signification. The Agitators and
Aug. 1[2]. council of officers sent some propositions to the King as ruinous

[1] ['and as,' MS.]

[2] [See *Calend. Clar. S. P.* i. 385. The propositions were presented at Woburn; Ludlow's *Memoirs*, i. 202.]

to the Church and destructive to the regal power as had been yet made by the Parliament, and in some respects much worse and more dishonourable; and said, if his majesty would consent thereunto, they would apply themselves to the Parliament, and do the best they could to persuade them to be of the same opinion. But his majesty rejected them with more than usual indignation, not without some reproaches upon the officers of having deluded him, and having prevailed in all their own designs by making the world believe that they intended his majesty's restoration and settlement, upon better conditions than the Parliament was willing to admit. And by this manner of resentment the army took itself to be disobliged, and used another language in their discourse of the King than they had for some months used to do; and such officers who had formerly served the King, and had been civilly treated and sheltered in the quarters of the army, were now driven from thence, and they who had been kind to them withdrew themselves from their acquaintance. And the sequestrations of all the estates of the cavaliers, which had been intermitted, were revived with as much rigour as ever had been before practised, and the declared delinquents racked to as high compositions; which if they refused to make, their whole estates were taken from them, and their persons exposed to affronts and insecurity; but this was imputed to the prevalence of the Presbyterian humour in the Parliament against the judgment of the army. And it is very true, that though the Parliament was so far subdued that it no more found fault with what the army did, nor complained that it meddled in determining what settlement should be made in the government, yet in all their own acts and proceedings they prosecuted a Presbyterial settlement as earnestly as they could. The Covenant was pressed in all places, and the Anabaptists and other sects, which began to abound, were punished, restrained, and discountenanced; which the army liked not, as a violation of the liberty of tender consciences, which they pretended was as much the original of the quarrel as any other grievance whatsoever. 1647

1647 123. They had made a visitation of the university of Oxford[1]; in which the earl of Pembroke had been contented to be employed as chancellor of the university, who had taken an oath to defend the rights and privileges of the university: notwithstanding which, out of the extreme weakness of his understanding, and the miserable compliance of his nature, he suffered himself to be made a property in joining with Brent, Prinn, and two or three other Presbyterian ministers, as commissioners for the Parliament, to reform the discipline and erroneous doctrine of that famous university by the rule of the Covenant; which was the standard of all men's learning and ability to govern, all persons, of what quality soever, being required to subscribe that test; which they were so far from submitting to, that the whole body of the university met in their convocation, and, to their eternal renown, (being at the same time under a strict and a strong garrison put over them by the Parliament, the King in
June 1. prison, and all their hopes desperate,) passed a public act and declaration against the Covenant, with such invincible arguments of the illegality, wickedness, and perjury contained in it, that no man of the contrary opinion, nor the Assembly of Divines, (which then sat at Westminster, forming a new catechism and scheme of religion,) ever ventured to make any answer to it; nor is it indeed to be answered, but must remain to the world's end as a monument of the learning, courage, and loyalty of that excellent place to eternity, against the highest malice and tyranny that was ever exercised in and over any nation; and which those famous commissioners only answered by expelling all those who refused to submit to their jurisdiction or to take the Covenant; which was, upon the matter, the whole university, scarce one governor and master of college or hall, and an incredible small number of the fellows or scholars, submitting to either: whereupon, that desolation being made, they placed in their rooms the most notorious factious Presbyterians in the government of the several colleges and halls; and such other of the same leaven in the fellowships and scholars' places of those whom they had expelled, without any regard to the statutes of

[1] [By ordinance of Parliament of May 1.]

the several founders, and the incapacities that were declared by those. The omnipotence of an ordinance of Parliament confirmed all that was this way done; and there was no farther contending against it. 1647 1648 April 21.

124. It might reasonably be concluded that this wild and barbarous depopulation would even extirpate all that learning, religion, and loyalty, which had so eminently flourished there, and that the exceeding ill husbandry and unskilled cultivation would have made it fruitful only in ignorance, profanation, atheism, and rebellion; but, by God's wonderful blessing, the goodness and richness of that soil could not be made barren by all the stupidity and negligence. It choked the weeds, and would not suffer the poisonous seeds, which were sown with industry enough, to spring up; but after several tyrannical governments, mutually succeeding each other, and with the same malice and perverseness endeavouring to extinguish all good literature and allegiance, it yielded a harvest of extraordinary good and sound knowledge in all parts of learning; and many who were wickedly introduced applied themselves to the study of good learning and the practice of virtue, and had inclination to that duty and obedience they had never been taught; so that when it pleased God to bring the King back to his throne, he found that university (not to undervalue the other, which had nobly likewise rejected the ill infusions which had been industriously poured into it) abounding in excellent learning, and devoted to duty and obedience, little inferior to what it was before its desolation; which was a lively instance of God's mercy, and purpose for ever so to provide for his Church, that the gates of hell shall never prevail against it; which were never opened wider, nor with more malice, than in that time.

125. These kinds of proceedings in all places blasted all the King's hopes, and deprived him of all the rest and quiet he had for some time enjoyed; nor could he devise any remedy. He was weary of depending upon the army, but neither knew how to get from them, nor whither else to resort for help. The officers of those guards which were assigned to attend his

1647 person, and who had behaved themselves with good manners and duty towards him, and very civilly towards those of his party who had used to wait upon his majesty, began now to murmur at so great resort to him, and to use many who came rudely, and not suffer them to go into the room where the King was, or, which was worse, put them out when they were there; and when his majesty seemed to take notice and be troubled at it, they appeared not to be concerned, nor answered his majesty with that duty they had used to do. They affronted the Scots'
July 31. commissioners[1] very notably, and would not suffer them to speak with the King; which caused an expostulation from the Parliament[2]; which removed the obstruction for the future, but procured no satisfaction for the injury they had received, nor made the same officers more civil towards their persons. Ashburnham and Berkely received many advertisements from some officers, with whom they had most conversed, and who would have been glad that the King might have been restored by the army for the preferments which they expected might fall to their share, that Cromwell and Ireton resolved never to trust the King, or to do any thing towards his restoration, and they two steered the whole body; and therefore they advised that some way might be found to remove his majesty out of their hands. Major Huntington, one of the best officers they had, and major to Cromwell's own regiment of horse, upon whom he relied in any enterprise of importance more than upon any man, had been employed by him to the King, to say those things from him which had given the King the most confidence, and [were][3] much more than he had ever said to Ashburnham; and the major did really believe that he had meant all he said, and the King had a good opinion of the integrity of the major, upon the testimony he had received from some he knew had no mind to deceive his majesty; and the man merited the testimony they gave him. He, when he observed Cromwell to grow colder in his expressions for the King than he had formerly

[1] [The earl of Lauderdale at Woburn.]

[2] [A letter of remonstrance from the Scottish Committee of Estates, dated at Edinb., Aug. 21, was read in Parliament on Sept. 1, and enquiry ordered.]

[3] ['was,' MS.]

been, expostulated with him, in very sharp terms, for abusing 1647
him and making him the instrument to cozen the King; and though the other endeavoured to persuade him that all should be well, he informed his majesty of all he had observed, and told him that Cromwell was a villain, and would destroy him if 1648
he were not prevented; and in a short time after he gave up Aug. 2.
his commission, and would serve no longer in the army. Cromwell himself expostulated with Mr. Ashburnham, and complained that the King could not be trusted, and that he had no affection or confidence in the army, but was jealous of them and of all the officers: that he had intrigues in the Parliament, and treaties with the Presbyterians of the city to raise new troubles; that he had a treaty concluded with the Scotch commissioners to engage the nation again in blood; and therefore he would not be answerable if any thing fell out amiss, and contrary to expectation; and that was the reason, besides the old animosity, that had drawn on the affront which the commissioners had complained of. What that treaty was, and what it produced, will be mentioned in a more proper time.

126. There was at this time a new faction grown up in the army, which were, either by their own denomination or with their own consent, called *Levellers*; who spake insolently and confidently against the King and Parliament and the great officers of the army; professed as great malice against all the lords as against the King, and declared that all degrees of men should be levelled, and an equality should be established, both in titles and estates, throughout the kingdom. Whether the raising this spirit was a piece of Cromwell's ordinary witchcraft, in order to some of his designs, or whether it grew amongst those tares which had been sowed in that confusion, certain it is, it gave him real trouble at last, which must be set down hereafter; but the present use he made of it [was, that,] upon the licentious discourse of that kind which some soldiers upon the guard usually made, the guard upon the King's person was doubled, [and] a restraint put upon the great resort of people who came to see the King; and all pretended to be for his security, and to prevent any violence that might be attempted

1647 upon his life, which they seemed to apprehend and detest. In the mean time they neither hindered his majesty from riding abroad to take the air, nor from doing any thing he had a mind to, nor restrained those who waited upon him in his bed-chamber, nor his chaplains from performing their functions; though towards all these there was less civility exercised than had been; and the guards which waited nearest were more rude, and made more noise at unseasonable hours than they had been accustomed to do; the captain who commanded them, colonel Whal[e]y, being a man of a rough and brutal temper, who had offered great violence to his nature when he appeared to exercise any civility and good manners. The King every day received little billets or letters, secretly conveyed to him, without any name, which advertised him of wicked designs upon his life, and some of them advised him to make an escape, and repair secretly into the city, where he should be safe; some letters directing him to such an alderman's house; all which his majesty looked upon as artifice to lead him into some strait, from whence he should not easily explicate himself; and yet many who repaired to him brought the same advice from men of unquestionable sincerity, by what reason soever they were swayed.

127. The King found himself in great perplexity from what he discerned and observed himself, as well as what he heard from others; but what use to make of the one or the other was very hard to resolve: he did really believe that their malice was at the height, and that they did design his murder, but knew not which was a probable way to prevent it. The making an escape, if it were not contrived with wonderful sagacity, would expose him to be assassinated by pretended ignorance, and would be charged upon himself; and if he could avoid their guards, and get beyond them undiscovered, whither should he go, and what place would receive and defend him? The hope of the city seemed not to him to have a foundation of reason; they had been too late subdued to recover courage for such an adventure; and the army now was much more master of it than when they desponded. There

is reason to believe that he did resolve to transport himself beyond the seas, which had been no hard matter to have brought to pass; but with whom he consulted for the way of doing it is not to this day discovered, they who were instrumental in his remove pretending to know nothing of the resolution or counsel. But one morning about the beginning of September[1], the King having the night before pretended some indisposition, and that he would go to his rest, they who went into his chamber found that he was not there, nor had been in his bed that night. There were two or three letters found upon his table, writ all with his own hand, one to the Parliament, and another to the general; in which he declared the reason of his remove to be, an apprehension that some desperate persons had a purpose to assassinate him; and therefore he had withdrawn himself with a purpose of remaining concealed, until the Parliament had agreed upon such propositions as should be fit for him to consent to; and he would then appear, and willingly consent to any thing that should be for the peace and happiness of the kingdom. There were discovered the treading of horses at a back door of the garden into which his majesty had a passage out of his chamber; and it is true that way he went, having appointed his horse to be there ready at an hour, and sir John Berkely, Ashburnham, and Legg, to wait upon him, the two last being of his bed-chamber. Ashburnham seemed only to know what they were to do, the other two having received only orders to attend. When they were free from the apprehension of the guards and the horse quarters, they rode towards the west, and towards that part of Hampshire which led to the New Forest. The King asked Ashburnham where the ship lay; which made the other two conclude that the King resolved to transport himself. After they had made some stay in that part next the sea, and Ashburnham had been some time absent, he returned without any news of the ship; with which the King seemed troubled. Upon this dis-

1647 Nov. 11.

[1] [This extraordinary mistake shows in a special instance the carelessness of Clarendon with regard to dates.]

1647 appointment, the King thought it best, for avoiding all high-ways, to go to Titchfeild, a noble seat of the earl of Southampton, who was not there, but inhabited by the old lady his mother, with a small family, which made the retreat the more convenient. There his majesty alighted, and would speak with the lady, to whom he made no scruple of communicating himself, well knowing her to be a lady of that honour and
Nov. 12. spirit that she was superior to all kind of temptation. There he refreshed himself, and consulted with his three servants what he should next do, since there was neither ship ready, nor could they presume that they could remain long there undiscovered.

128. In this debate, the Isle of Wight came to be mentioned (as they say) by Ashburnham, as a place where his majesty might securely repose himself until he thought fit to inform the Parliament where he was. Colonel Hammond was governor there, an officer of the army, and of nearest trust with Cromwell, having by his advice been married to a daughter of John Hambden, whose memory he always adored; yet, by some fatal mistake, this man was thought a person of honour and generosity enough to trust the King's person to, and Ashburnham and Berkely were sent to him, with orders, first, to be sure that the man would faithfully promise not to deliver his majesty up, though the Parliament or army should require him, but to give him his liberty to shift for himself if he were not able to defend him: and except he would make that promise, they should not let him know where his majesty was, but should return presently to him. With this commission they two crossed the water to the Isle of Wight, the King in the mean time reposing himself at Titchfeild.
Nov. 13[1]. The next day they found Colonel Hammond, who was known to them both, who had conversation with him in the army when the King was well treated there, and their persons had been very civilly treated by most of the officers, who thought themselves qualified sufficiently for Court preferments. They told him that the King was withdrawn from the army; of

[1] [*Lords' Journals*, ix. 525.]

which he seemed to have had no notice, and to be very much surprised with it. They then said, that the King had so good an opinion of him, knowing him to be a gentleman, and for his relation to Dr. Hammond, (whose nephew he was,) that he would trust his person with him, and would from thence write to the Parliament, if he would promise that if his message had not that effect which he hoped it would have, he would leave him to himself to go whither he thought fit, and would not deliver him to the Parliament or army if they should require it. His answer was, that he would pay all the duty and service to his majesty that was in his power; and if he pleased to come thither, he would receive and entertain him as well as he could; but that he was an inferior officer, and must obey his superiors in whatsoever they thought fit to command him: with which when he saw they were not satisfied, he asked where the King was; to which they made no other answer but that they would acquaint his majesty with his answer, and if he were satisfied with it they would return to him again. He demanded that Mr. Ashburnham would stay with him and that the other might go to the King; which Ashburnham refused to do. 1647

129. After some time spent in debate, in which he made many expressions of his desire to do any service to his majesty, they were contented that he should go with them, and Ashburnham said he would conduct him to the place where the King was; and so, he commanding three or four servants or soldiers to wait on him, they went together to Titchfeild; and, the other staying below, Ashburnham went up to the King's chamber. And when he had acquainted him with all that had passed, and that Hammond was in the house, his majesty brake out in a passionate exclamation, and said, 'Oh, Jack, thou hast undone me!' with which the other falling into a great passion of weeping, offered to go down and to kill Hammond; to which his majesty would not consent, and, after some pausing and deliberation, sent for him up, and endeavoured to persuade him to make the same promise which had before been proposed: to which he made the same answer he had

1647 done, but with many professions of doing all the offices he could for his majesty, and seemed to believe that the army would do well for him. The King believed that there was now no possible way to get from him, he having the command of the country, and could call in what help he would; and
Nov. 13. so he went with him into the Isle of Wight, and was lodged in Carisbrook Castle with all demonstration of respect and duty.

130. It never appeared afterwards that the King was maliciously betrayed to this unhappy peregrination by the treachery and practice of those he trusted, and his majesty himself never entertained the least jealousy or suspicion of it: yet the whole design appeared to be so weakly contrived, the not being sure of a ship, if the resolution were fixed for embarking, (which was never manifest,) the making choice of the Isle of Wight, and of Hammond to be trusted, since nothing fell out which was not to be reasonably foreseen and expected, and the bringing him to Titchfeild without the permission of the King, if not directly contrary to it, seemed to be all so far from a rational design and conduct, that most men did believe that there was treason in the contrivance, or that his majesty trusted those who were grossly imposed upon and deceived by his greatest enemies. Legg had so general a reputation of integrity and fidelity to his master, that he never fell under the least imputation or reproach with any man: he was a very punctual and steady observer of the orders he received, but no contriver of them; and though he had in truth a better judgment and understanding than either of the other two, his modesty and diffidence of himself never suffered him to contrive bold counsels. Berkely was less known amongst those persons of honour and quality who had followed the King, being in a very private station before the war, and his post in it being in the farthest corner of the kingdom, and not much spoken of till the end of it, when he was not beholding to reports; his ambition and vanity were well known to be predominant in him, and that he had great confidence in himself, and did not delight to converse with those who had not; but he never

fell under any blemish of disloyalty, and he took care to pub- 1647
lish that this enterprise of the King's was so totally without his privity, that he was required to attend on horseback at such an hour, and had not the least intimation of his majesty's purpose what he intended to do. And another particular, which [was] acknowledged by Hammond, did him much credit, that when Hammond demanded that Ashburnham should remain with him whilst the other went to the King, which Ashburnham refused to do, Berkely did offer himself to remain with him whilst Ashburnham should attend his majesty; so that the whole weight of the prejudice and reproach was cast upon Ashburnham, who was known to have so great an interest in the affections of his master, and so great an influence upon his counsels and resolutions, that he could not be ignorant of any thing that moved him.

131. The not having a ship ready, if it were intended, was non-excusable; and the putting the King into Hammond's hands without his leave could never be wiped out. There were some who said, that Mr. Ashburnham resolved that the King should go to the Isle of Wight before he left Hampton Court; and the lord Langdale often said, that being in Mr. Ashburnham's chamber at that time, he had the curiosity, whilst the other went out of the room, to look upon a paper that lay upon the table, in which was writ that it would be best for the King to withdraw from the army, where he was in such danger, and that the Isle of Wight would be a good retreat, where colonel Hammond commanded, who was a very honest man. And this was some days before his majesty removed. And then it was observed, that Hammond himself left the army but two or three days before the King's remove, and went to the Isle of Wight at a season when there was no visible occasion to draw him thither, and when the agitation in the army was at highest. And it was looked upon with the more wonder, because he [Ashburnham] was not afterwards called in question for being instrumental in the King's going away, but lived unquestioned long after in the sight of the Parliament, and in conversation with some of the officers of

1647 the army who had most deceived him; and, which was more censured than all the rest, that after the murder of the King he compounded, as was reported, at an easy rate, and lived at ease and grew rich for many years together without interruption.

132. On the other hand, he preserved his reputation and credit with the most eminent of the King's party; and his remaining in England was upon the marriage of a lady[1] by whom he had a great fortune and many conveniences, which would have been seized by his leaving the kingdom; and he did send over to the King, and had leave to stay there, and sometimes supplied the King with considerable sums of money.

1654 June 2. Afterwards he was committed to the Tower by Cromwell, where he remained till his [Cromwell's] death: and when the King returned, most of those of greatest reputation, as the marquis of Hartford and the earl of Southampton, gave him a good testimony; and the King at his death was known to have a clear opinion of his affection and integrity; yet, after his majesty's return, the old discourses were revived, and major Huntington did affirm that Mr. Ashburnham did intend the King should go to the Isle of Wight before he left Hampton Court. And many who did not believe him to be corrupted did still think that Cromwell and Ireton had overwitted him, and persuaded him, upon great promises that it should prove for his majesty's benefit and that they should the sooner do his business, that he should withdraw from the army and put himself into Hammond's hand; for if in truth transportation had been thought of, it is hard to believe that a ship would not have been provided.

133[2]. Sir John Berkely, who shortly after the King's being in the Isle of Wight had transported himself into France, and remained still with the duke of York to the time of his majesty's return, and Mr. Ashburnham, who continued in

[1] [Elizabeth, widow of John first lord Poulett, whose husband died March 29, 1649.]

[2] [The text is here taken up from the MS. of book x. in the *Hist.*, pp. 17, 18, for §§ 133–6, and the first part of § 138.]

England, and so the more liable to reproach, had been so solicitous to wipe off the aspersions which were cast upon them jointly, that they had no care to preserve the reputation of a joint innocence; but whilst each endeavoured to clear himself, he objected or imputed somewhat to the other that made him liable to just censure; and, in this contention, their friends mentioned their several discourses so loudly, and so passionately for the credit and reputation of him whom they loved best, that they contracted a very avowed animosity against each other; insomuch as it was generally believed upon the King's return, that they would with some fierceness have expostulated with each other in that way which angry men choose to determine the right, or that both of them would have desired the King to have caused the whole to be so strictly examined, that the world might have discerned where the faults or oversights had been, if no worse could have been charged upon them: but they applied themselves to neither of those expedients, and lived only as men who took no delight in each other's conversation, and who did not desire to cherish any familiarity together. And the King, who was satisfied that there had been no treasonable contrivance, (from which his father had absolved them,) did not think it fit, upon such a subject, to make strict inquisition into inadvertencies, indiscretions, and presumptions, which could not have been punished proportionably. 1647

134. It is true they both writ Apologies, or narrations of all that had passed in that affair, which they made not public[1], but gave in writing to such of their friends in whose opinions they most desired to be absolved, without any inclination that one should see what the other had writ; and in which, though there were several reflections upon each other, and differences in occurrences of less moment, there was nothing in either that seemed to doubt of the integrity of the other, nor any clear relation of any probable inducement that prevailed with the King to undertake that journey. I have read both their

[1] [Berkeley's narrative was printed in 1699, but Ashburnham's not until 1830.]

1647 relations, and conferred with both of them at large, to discover in truth what the motives might be which led to so fatal an end; and if I were obliged to deliver my own opinion, I should declare that neither of them [was][1] in any degree corrupted in their loyalty or affection to the King, or suborned to gratify any persons with a disservice to their master. They were both of them great *opiniatres*, yet irresolute, and easy to be shaken by any thing they had not thought of before, and exceedingly undervalued each other's understanding; but, as it usually falls out in men of that kind of composition and talent, they were both disposed to communicate more freely with, and consequently to be advised by, new acquaintance, and men they had lately begun to know, than old friends and such whose judgments they could not but esteem; who they had no mind should go sharers with them in the merit of any notable service which they thought themselves able to bring to pass. Then, in the whole managery of the King's business, from the time that they came into the army, they never conversed with the same persons, but governed themselves by what they received from those whose correspondence they had chosen. Ashburnham seemed wholly to depend upon Cromwell and Ireton, and rather upon what they said to others than to himself. For besides outward civilities, which they both exercised towards him more than to other men, they seldom held private discourse with him, persuading him that it was better for both their ends, in respect of the jealousy the Parliament had of them, that they should understand each other's mind, as to the transaction of any particulars, from third persons mutually intrusted between them, than from frequent consultations together; and so sir Edward Ford, who had married Ireton's sister, but had been himself an officer in the King's army from the beginning of the war, and a gentleman of good meaning, though not able to fathom the reserved and dark designs of his brother-in-law, was trusted to pass between them, with some other officers of the army, who had given Ashburnham some reason to believe that they had honest purposes.

135. Berkely had not found that respect from Cromwell and

[1] ['were,' MS.]

Ireton that he expected; at least, discerned it to be greater 1647
towards Ashburnham than it was to him; which he thought evidence enough of a defect of judgment in them; and therefore had applied himself to others, who had not so great names, but greater interest, as he thought, in the soldiers. His chief confidence was in Dr. Stanes, who, though a doctor in physic, was quarter-master-general of the army, and one Watson, who was scout-master-general of the army; both of the council of war, both in good credit with Cromwell, and both notable fanatics, and professed enemies to the Scots and the Presbyterians, and no doubt were both permitted and instructed to caress sir John Berkely, and by admiring his wisdom and conduct to oblige him to depend on theirs; and dissimulation had so great and supreme an influence upon the hearts and spirits of all those who were trusted and employed by Cromwell, that no man was safe in their company but he who resolved before not to believe one word they said. These two persons knew well how to humour sir John Berkely, who believed them the more, because they seemed very much to blame Ireton's stubbornness towards the King, and to fear that he often prevailed upon Cromwell against his own inclinations: they informed him of many particulars which passed in the council of officers, and sometimes of advice from Cromwell that was clean contrary to what the King received by Ashburnham as his opinion, and which was found afterwards to be true, (as it may be the other was too,) which exceedingly confirmed sir John in the good opinion he had of his two friends. They were the first who positively advertised the King by him that Cromwell would never do him service, and the first who seemed to apprehend that the King's person was in danger, and that there was some secret design upon his life.

136. I do not believe that sir John Berkely knew any thing of the King's purpose in his intended escape, or whither he resolved to go, or indeed more of it than that he resolved at such an hour and in such a place to take horse, and was himself required to attend him; nor do I in truth think that the King himself, when he took horse, resolved whither to go. Some think

1647 he meant to go into the city; others, that he intended for Jarsy, and that was the ground of the question to Ashburnham, 'Where is the ship?' Certain it is that the King never thought of going to the Isle of Wight. I am not sure that Mr. Ashburnham (who had not yet given over all hope of the chief officers of the army, and believed the alterations which had fallen out proceeded from the barbarity of the Agitators and the levelling party,) had not the Isle of Wight in his view from the beginning, that is, from the time his majesty thought it necessary to make an escape from the army. It had been a difficult task to go about to dissuade the King from an apprehension of his own safety, when it was much more natural to fear an assassination than to apprehend any thing that they did afterwards do. Mr. Ashburnham had so great a detestation of the Scots, that he expected no good from their fraternity, the Presbyterians of the city; and did really believe that if his majesty should put himself into their hands, as was advised by many, with a purpose that he should be there concealed till some favourable conjuncture should offer itself, (for nobody imagined that upon his arrival there the city would have declared for him, and have entered into a contest with that army which had so lately subdued them,) I say he had no confidence in the security of such an escape, and very earnestly dissuaded his master from entertaining the thought of it; and this opinion of his was universally known, and, (as hath been said before,) was an ingredient into the composition of that civility and kindness the officers of the army had for him. They did to him frequently lament the levelling spirit that was gotten into the soldiers, which they foresaw would in the future be as inconvenient and mischievous to themselves as it was for the present dangerous to the person of the King; which they seemed wonderfully to apprehend, and protested that they knew not how to apply any remedy to it whilst his majesty was in the army, but that they would quickly correct or subdue it if the King were at any distance from them; and it is not impossible that in such discourses somebody who was trusted by them, if not one of themselves, might mention the Isle of

Wight as a good place to retire to, and colonel Hammond as a man of good intentions; the minutes of which discourse Mr. Ashburnham might keep by him: for the lord Langdale's discourse of such a paper, which he himself saw and read, cannot be thought by me to be a mere fiction; to which, besides that he was a person of unblemished honour and veracity, he had not any temptation: yet Mr. Ashburnham did constantly deny that he ever saw any such paper, or had any thought of the Isle of Wight when the King left Hampton Court; and he never gave cause in the subsequent actions of his life to have his fidelity suspected. And it is probable that Cromwell, who many years afterwards committed him to the Tower, and did hate him, and desired to have taken his life, would have been glad to have blasted his reputation by declaring that he had carried his master to the Isle of Wight without his own privity, upon his own presumption; which, how well soever intended, must have been looked upon by all men as such a transcendent crime as must have deprived him of all compassion for the worst that could befall him. 1647

137[1]. This sudden unexpected absence of the King made a great impression upon the minds of all men, every man fancying that his majesty would do that which he wished he would do. The Presbyterians imagined that he lay concealed in the city, (which they unreasonably thought he might easily do,) and would expect a proper conjuncture, upon a new rupture between the Parliament and the army, and the many factions in the army which every day appeared, to discover himself. The cavaliers hoped that he would transport himself into the parts beyond the seas, and quietly attend there those alterations at home which might probably in a short time invite his return. And the army was not without this apprehension, as imagining it the worst that could fall out to their purposes.

138. The Parliament, that is, that part of it that was devoted to the army, was most frighted with the imagination that the King was in the city, and would lurk there until some

[1] [The MS. of the *Life* resumed, at pp. 331–2, for §§ 137–141, except the two first sentences in § 138.]

1647 conspiracy should be ripe, and all his party should be present in London to second it; and therefore they no sooner heard
Nov. 13. that he was gone from Hampton Court, than they passed an ordinance of both Houses[1] by which they declared that it should be confiscation of estate and loss of life to any man who presumed to harbour and conceal the King's person in his house, without revealing and making it known to the Parliament: which without doubt would have terrified them all in such a manner, that if he had been in truth amongst them he would quickly have been discovered and given up. They caused some of the most notorious Presbyterians' houses to be searched as if they had been sure he had been there, and sent
Nov. 12. posts to all ports of the kingdom, that they might be shut, and no person be suffered to embark, lest he might in disguise
Dec. 17. transport himself; and a proclamation issued out, for the banishing all persons who had ever borne arms for the King, out of London, or any place within twenty miles of it; and all persons of that kind, who upon strict [search] were found, were apprehended, and put into several prisons, with all the circumstances of severity and rigour. But all these doubts were
Nov. 15. quickly cleared, and within two days Cromwell informed the House of Commons that he had received letters from colonel Hammond of all the manner of the King's coming to the Isle of Wight, and the company that came with him; that he remained then in the castle at Carisbrooke till the pleasure of the Parliament should be known. He assured them that colonel Hammond was so honest a man, and so much devoted to their service, that they need have no jealousy that he might be corrupted by any body; and all this relation he made with so unusual a gaiety, that all men concluded that the King was where he wished he should be. And from hence all those discourses, which are mentioned before to have fallen out after, took their original too probably.

139. And now the Parliament maintained no farther contests with the army, but tamely submitted to whatsoever they

[1] [It appears from the *Journals* that the ordinance was only passed by the Commons.]

proposed; the Presbyterians in both Houses and in the city 1647
being in a terrible agony that some close correspondences they had held with the King during his abode at Hampton Court would be discovered, and therefore would give no farther occasion of jealousy by any contradictions, leaving it to their clergy to keep the fire burning in the hearts of the people by their pulpit-inflammations; which stoutly discharged their trust.

140. But Cromwell had more cause to fear a fire in his own quarters, and that he had raised a spirit in the army which would not be easily quieted again. The Agitators, who were first formed by him to oppose the Parliament, and to resist the destructive doom of their disbanding, and likewise to prevent any inconvenience or mischieve that might result from the drowsy, dull, presbyterian humour of Fayrefax, who wished nothing that Cromwell did, and yet contributed to bring it all to pass; these Agitators had hitherto transcribed faithfully all the copies he had given them, and offered such advices to the Parliament, and insisted upon such expostulations and demands, as were necessary whilst there was either any purpose to treat with the King or any reason to flatter his party. But now the King was gone from the army, and in such a place as the army could have no recourse to him, and that the Parliament was become of so soft a temper that the party of the army that was in it could make all necessary impression upon them, he desired to restrain [the Agitators from[1]] that liberty which they had so long enjoyed, and to keep them within stricter rules of obedience to their superiors, and to hinder their future meetings and consultations concerning the settling the government of the kingdom; which he thought ought now to be solely left to the Parliament, whose authority for the present he thought best to uphold, and by it to establish all that was to be done. But the Agitators would not be so dismissed from state affairs, of which they had so pleasant a relish, nor be at the mercy of the Parliament which they had so much provoked; and therefore, when they were admitted no more to consultations with their

[1] ['them of,' MS.]

1647 officers, they continued their meetings without them, and thought there was as great need to reform their officers as any other part of the Church or State. They entered into new associations, and made many propositions to their officers and to the Parliament to introduce an equality into all conditions, and a parity amongst all men; from whence they had the appellation of *Levellers*; which appeared a great party. They did not only meet against the express command of their officers, but drew very considerable parties of the army to rendezvous[1], without the order or privity of their superiors, and there persuaded them to enter into such engagements as would in a short time have dissolved the government of the army, and absolved them from a dependence upon the general officers. And the suppression of this license put Cromwell to the expense of all his cunning, dexterity, and courage; so that after he had cajoled the Parliament, as if the preservation of their authority had been all he cared for and took to heart, and sent some false brothers to comply in the counsels of the conspirators, and by that means having notice of their ren-
[Nov. 15?] dezvous, he was unexpectedly found, himself, with an ordinary guard at those meetings; and, with a marvellous vivacity, having asked some questions of those whom he observed most active, and receiving insolent answers, he knocked two or three of them in head with his own hand, and then charged the rest with his troop, and took such a number of them as he thought fit; whereof he presently caused some to be hanged, and sent others to London for a more formal trial. And by two or three such encounters, for the obstinacy continued long, he totally subdued that spirit in the army, though it continued and increased very much in the kingdom; and if it had not been encountered at that time with that rough and brisk temper of Cromwell, it would presently have produced all imaginable confusion in the Parliament, army, and kingdom.

141. All opposition being thus suppressed and quieted, and Cromwell needing no other assistance to the carrying on his designs than the present temper and inclination of the Parlia-

[1] ['randevoozes,' MS.]

ment, they sent a message to the King, shortly proposing to him that he would forthwith grant his royal assent to four Acts of Parliament; which they then sent to him. By one of them he was to confess the war to have been raised by him against the Parliament, and that he was guilty of all the blood that had been spilt. By another, he was totally to dissolve the government of the Church by bishops, and to grant all the lands belonging to the Church to such uses as they proposed; leaving the settling a future government in the place thereof to farther time and counsels. By a third, he was to grant and settle the militia in the manner and in the persons proposed, reserving not so much power in himself as any subject was capable of. And in the last place, he was to sacrifice all those who had served or adhered to him to the mercy of the Parliament. And the persons who were sent with these four bills had liberty given to expect the King's answer only four days, and were then required to return to the Parliament. 1647 Dec. 20.

142[2]. With the commissioners of Parliament there came likewise the commissioners of Scotland, who were present when the four bills and other propositions were delivered and read to the King; and they the very next day desired an audience, and, with much formality and confidence, delivered a declaration and protestation, on the behalf of the kingdom of Scotland, against those bills and propositions. They said they were so prejudicial to religion, the Crown, and the union and interest of the kingdoms, and so far different from the former proceedings and engagements between the two kingdoms, that they could not concur therein, and therefore, in the name of the whole kingdom of Scotland, they did declare their dissent. Dec. 24. Dec. 25.

143. The King had received advertisement, that as soon as he should refuse to consent to the bills he should presently be made a close prisoner, and all his servants should be removed from him; upon which, and because the commissioners had no power to treat with him, but were only to receive his

[1] [*Hist.*, pp. 18–19, for §§ 142-5.]

1647 positive answer, he resolved that his answer should not be known till it was delivered to the Parliament; and that in the mean time he would endeavour to make his escape from thence, before new orders could be sent from Westminster: and so when the commissioners came to receive his answer, he gave it to them sealed. The earl of Denbigh, who was the chief of the commissioners, and a person very ingrateful to the King, told him, that though they had no authority to treat with him, or to do any thing but to receive his answer, yet they were not to be looked upon as common messengers, and to carry back an answer that they had not seen; and, upon the matter, refused to receive it, and said they would return without any except they might see what they carried. His majesty conceived that their return without his answer would be attended with the worst consequences; and therefore he told them that he had some reason for having offered to deliver it to them in that manner, but if they would give him their words that the communicating it to them should be attended with no prejudice to him, he would open it, and cause it to be read; which they readily undertook, (as in truth they knew no reason to suspect it,) and thereupon he
Dec. 28. opened it, and gave it to one to read. The answer was, that his majesty had always thought it a matter of great difficulty to comply in such a manner with all engaged interests that a firm and lasting peace might ensue; in which opinion he was now confirmed, since the commissioners for Scotland do solemnly protest against the several bills and propositions which the two Houses of Parliament had presented to him for his assent; so that it was not possible for him to give such an answer as might be the foundation of a hopeful peace. He gave them many unanswerable reasons why he could not pass the four bills as they were offered to him, which did not only divest him of all sovereignty, and without any possibility of recovering it to him or his successors, but opened a door for all intolerable oppressions upon his subjects, by granting such an arbitrary and illimited power to the two Houses. He told them, that neither the desire of being freed from

that tedious and irksome condition of life which he had so long suffered, nor the apprehension of any thing that might befall him, should ever prevail with him to consent to any one Act till the conditions of the whole peace should be concluded; and then that he would be ready to give all just and reasonable satisfaction in all particulars; and for the adjusting of all this, he knew no way but a personal treaty, and therefore very earnestly desired the two Houses to consent to it, to be either at London or any other place they would rather choose. And as soon as this answer, or to the same effect, was read, he delivered it to the commissioners; who no sooner received it than they kissed his hand, and departed for Westminster. 1647

144. The commissioners were no sooner gone than Hammond caused all the King's servants, who till then had all liberty to be with him, to be immediately put out of the castle, and forbad any of them to repair thither any more; and appointed a strong guard to restrain any body from going to the King, if they should endeavour it. This exceedingly troubled and surprised him, being an absolute disappointment of all the hope he had left. He told Hammond that it was not suitable to his engagement, and that it did not become a man of honour or honesty to treat men so who had so freely put themselves into his hands. He asked him, whether the commissioners were acquainted with his purpose to proceed in this manner? To which he answered, that they were not, but that he had an order from the Parliament to do as he had done, and that he saw plainly by his answer to the propositions that he acted by other counsels than stood with the good of the kingdom. Dec. 28.

145. This insolent and imperious proceeding put the whole island (which was inhabited by a people always well affected to the Crown) into a high mutiny. They said they would not endure to see their King so used, and made a prisoner. There was at that time there one captain Burly, who was of a good family in the island. He had been a captain of one of the King's ships, and was put out of his command when the fleet rebelled against the King; and then he put himself into the King's army, where he continued an officer of good

1647–8 account to the end of the war, and was in one of the King's armies general of the ordnance. When the war was at an end, he repaired into his own country, the Isle of Wight; where many of his family still lived in good reputation. This
Dec. 29. gentleman chanced to be at Newport, the chief town in the island, when the King was thus treated, and when the people seemed generally to resent it with so much indignation; and was so much transported with the same fury, being a man of more courage than of prudence and circumspection, that he caused a drum to be presently beaten, and put himself into the head of the people who flocked together, and cried, 'For God, the King, and the people!' and said he would lead them to the castle, and rescue their King from his captivity. The attempt was presently discerned to be irrational and impossible; and by the great diligence and activity of the King's servants, who had been put out of the castle, the people were quieted, and all men resorted to their own houses. But the poor gentleman paid dear for his ill advised and precipitate loyalty, for Hammond caused him presently to be made prisoner; and the Parliament, without delay, sent down a commission of
Jan. 1. *oyer* and *terminer*; in which an infamous judge, Wilde, whom they had made Chief Baron of the Exchequer for such services,
Jan. 22. presided, who caused poor Burly to be with all formality indicted of high treason for levying war against the King, and engaging the kingdom in a new war; of which the jury they had brought together found him guilty; upon which their judge condemned him, and the honest man was forthwith
Feb. 3. hanged, drawn, and quartered, with all the circumstances of barbarity and cruelty; which struck a wonderful terror into all men, this being the first precedent that they had ever brought any man to a formal legal trial by the law, to deprive any man of his life and make him guilty of high treason, for adhering to the King; and it made a deeper impression upon the hearts of all men than all the cruelties they had yet exercised by their courts of war, which, though they took away the lives of many innocent men, left their estates to their wives and children. But when they saw now, that they might

be condemned of high treason before a sworn judge of the law for serving the King, by which their estates would be likewise confiscated, they thought they should be justified if they kept their hearts entire, without being involved by their actions in a capital transgression. 1647–8

146. [1] Upon the receipt of the King's answer, there appeared a new spirit and temper in the House of Commons. Hitherto no man had mentioned the King's person without duty and respect, and only lamented that he was misled by evil and wicked counsellors, who being removed from him, he might by the advice of his Parliament govern well enough. But now, upon the refusal to pass these bills, every man's mouth was opened against him with the utmost sauciness and license, each man striving to exceed the other in the impudence and bitterness of his invective. Cromwell declared that the King was a man of great parts and a great understanding, (faculties they had hitherto endeavoured to have him thought to be without,) but that he was so great a dissembler, and so false a man, that he was not to be trusted; and thereupon repeated many particulars, whilst he was in the army, when his majesty wished that such and such things might be done, which being done to gratify him, he was displeased, and complained of it: that whilst he professed with all solemnity that he referred himself wholly to the Parliament, and depended wholly upon their wisdom and counsel for the settlement and composing the distractions of the kingdom, he had at the same time secret treaties with the Scots' commissioners how he might embroil the nation in a new war and destroy the Parliament. He concluded, that they might no farther trouble themselves with sending messages to him, or farther propositions, but that they might enter upon those counsels which were necessary towards the settlement of the kingdom without having further recourse to the King. Those of his party seconded this good advice, with new reproaches upon the person of the King, and charging him with such abominable actions as had been never heard of, and could be only suggested from the malice of their own Jan. 3.

[1] [*Life*, pp. 332–337, for §§ 146–160.]

1647-8 hearts; whilst men who had any modesty, and abhorred that way of proceedings, stood amazed and confounded at the manner and presumption of it, and without courage to give any notable opposition to their rage. So that, after several days spent in
Jan. 3. passionate debates to this purpose, they voted[1] that they would make no more addresses to the King, but proceed towards settling the government, and providing for the peace of the kingdom, in such a manner as they should judge best for the benefit and liberty of the subject: and a committee was appointed to prepare a Declaration to inform and satisfy the people of this their resolution, and the grounds thereof, and to assure them that they had lawful authority to proceed in this manner. In the mean time, the King had[2] from the time of his coming to the Isle of Wight enjoyed the liberty of taking the air, and refreshing himself throughout the island, and was attended by such servants as he had appointed or sent for to come thither to him, to the time that he had refused to pass those bills; but from thence he was no more suffered to go out of the castle beyond a little ill garden that belonged to it. And now, after this vote of the House of Commons, that there should be no more addresses made to him, all his servants were removed, and a few new men, utterly unknown to his majesty, were deputed to be about his person to perform all those offices which they believed might be requisite, and of whose fidelity to them they were as well assured as that they were without any reverence or affection for the King.

147. It is very true, that within few days after the King's withdrawing from Hampton Court, and after it was known that he was in the Isle of Wight, there was a meeting of the general
Dec. 24[3]. officers of the army at Windsor, where Cromwell and Ireton were present, to consult what should be now done with the King. For though Cromwell was weary of the Agitators and resolved to break their meetings, and though the Parliament concurred in all he desired, yet his entire confidence was in the

[1] [Yeas, 141; noes, 92. It passed the Lords on Jan. 15, the earls of Warwick and Manchester dissenting.]

[2] ['who had,' MS.]

[3] [Whitelocke's *Memorials*.]

officers of the army, who were they who swayed the Parliament, 1647–8
and in the army itself, to bring what he intended to pass. And at this conference, the preliminaries whereof were always fastings and prayers, made at the very council by Cromwell or Ireton, or some other inspired person, as most of the officers were, it was resolved that the King should be prosecuted for his life, as a criminal person: of which his majesty was advertised speedily by Watson, quarter-master-general of the army, who was present, and had pretended from the first coming of the King to the army to have a desire to serve him, and desired to be now thought to retain it; but the resolution was a great secret, of which the Parliament had not the least intimation or jealousy, but was, as it had been, to be cozened by degrees to do what they never intended. Nor was his majesty easily persuaded to give credit to the information; but though he expected, and thought it very probable, that they would murder him, he did not believe that they would attempt it with that formality, or let the people know their intentions. The approach they made towards it was their Declaration that they would make no more Feb. 11.
addresses to the King, that by an interregnum they might feel the pulse of the people, and discover how they would submit to another form of government; and yet all writs and process of justice, and all commissions, still issued in the King's name, without his consent or privity; and little other change or alteration, but that what was before done by the King himself, and by his immediate order, was now performed by the Parliament; and instead of Acts of Parliament they made ordinances of the two Houses to serve all their occasions; which found the same obedience from the people.

148. This Declaration of no more addresses contained a charge against the King of whatsoever had been done amiss from the beginning of his government, or before, not without a direct insinuation as if he had conspired with the Duke of Buckingham against the life of his father; the prejudice he had brought upon the Protestant religion in foreign parts by lending his ships to the King of France, who employed them against Rochelle: they renewed the remembrance and reproach of all

1648 those grievances which had been mentioned in their first Remonstrance of the state of the kingdom, and repeated all the calumnies which had been contained in all their Declarations before and after the war; which had been all so fully answered by his majesty that the world was convinced of their rebellion and treason: they charged him with being the cause of all the blood that had been spilt by his having made a war upon his Parliament and rejected all overtures of peace which had been made to him; and in all these regards they resolved to make no more address to him, but by their own authority to provide for the peace and welfare of the kingdom.

149. This Declaration found much opposition in the House of Commons, in respect of the particular reproaches they had now cast upon the person of the King, which they had heretofore in their own published Declarations to the people charged upon the evil counsellors and persons about him; and some persons had been sentenced and condemned for those very crimes which they now accused his majesty of. But there was much more exception to their conclusion from those premises, that therefore they would address themselves no more to him; and John Maynard, a member of the House, and a lawyer of great eminence, who had too much complied and concurred with their irregular and unjust proceedings, after he had with great vehemence opposed and contradicted the most odious parts of their Declaration, told[1] them plainly, that by this resolution of making no more addresses to the King they did as far as in them lay dissolve the Parliament; and that from the time of that determination he knew not with what security, in point of law, they could meet together, or any man join with them in their counsels: that it was of the essence of Parliaments that they should upon all occasions repair to the King; and that his majesty's refusal at any time to receive their petitions, or to admit their addresses, had been always held the highest breach of their privilege, because it tended to their dissolution without dissolving them; and therefore if they should now on their parts determine that they would receive no more messages from

[1] ['he told,' MS.]

him, (which was likewise a part of their Declaration), nor make 1648
any more address to him, they did, upon the matter, declare that they were no longer a Parliament: and then, how could the people look upon them as such? This argumentation being boldly pressed by a man of that learning and authority, who had very seldom not been believed, made a great impression upon all men who had not prostituted themselves to Cromwell and his party. But the other side meant not to maintain their resolution by discourses, well knowing where their strength lay, and so still called for the question; which was carried by a Feb. 11.
plurality of voices, as they foresaw it would[1]; very many persons who abhorred the determination not having courage enough to provoke the powerful men by owning their dissent; others satisfying themselves with the resolution to withdraw themselves, and to bear no farther part in the counsels; which Maynard himself did, and came no more to the House in very many months, nor till there seemed to be such an alteration in the minds of men, that there would be a reversal of that monstrous determination; and many others did the same.

150. When this Declaration was thus passed in the Commons, and by them sent to the House of Peers for their concurrence, the manner or the matter was not thought of that importance as to need much debate, but with as little formality as was possible it had the concurrence of that House[2]; and was immediately printed and published, and new orders sent to the Isle of Wight for the more strict looking to and guarding the King, that he might not escape.

151. The publishing this Declaration wrought very different effects in the minds of the people from what they expected it would produce; and it appeared to be so publicly detested, that many who had served the Parliament in several unwarrantable employments and commissions, from the beginning of the war, in the city and in the country, withdrew themselves from the service, and much inveighed against the Parliament for

[1] [Yeas, 80; noes, 50.]

[2] [This is a mistake; the Declaration was published by authority of the House of Commons alone, and no mention of it is in the Lords' *Journals*.]

1648 declining all the principles upon which they had engaged them. Many private persons took upon them to publish answers to that odious Declaration, that, the King himself being under so strict a restraint that he could make no answer, the people might not be poisoned with the belief of it[1]. And the several answers of this kind wrought very much upon the people, who opened their mouths very loud against the Parliament and the army; and the clamour was increased by the increase of taxes and impositions, which were raised by new ordinances of Parliament upon the kingdom; and though they were so entirely possessed of the whole kingdom and the forces and garrisons thereof that they had no enemy to fear or apprehend, yet they disbanded no part of their army; and notwithstanding they raised incredible sums of money, upon the sale of the Church and the Crown lands, for which they found purchasers enough among their own party in the city, army, and country, and upon composition with delinquents, and the sale of their lands who refused or could not be admitted to compound, (which few refused to do who could be admitted, in regard that their estates were all under sequestration, and the rents thereof paid to the Parliament, so that till they compounded they had nothing to support themselves, whereby they were driven into extreme want and necessities, and were compelled to make their compositions, at how unreasonable rates soever,

[1] [The following passage, printed in the *Life*, is here struck out in the MS. 'The Chancellor of the Exchequer no sooner received a copy of it in Jarsy than he prepared a very large and full answer to it, in which he made the malice and treason of that libellous Declaration to appear, and his majesty's innocence in all the particulars charged upon him, with such pathetical applications and insinuations as were most like to work upon the affections of the people; all which was transmitted by the care of Mr. Secretary Nicholas, who resided at Caen in Normandy, and held a constant correspondence with the Chancellor, to a trusty hand in London, who caused it to be well printed and divulged, and found means to send it to the King; who, after he had read it, said, "he durst swear it was written by the Chancellor, if it were not that there was more divinity in it than he expected from him, which made him believe he had conferred with Dr. Steward;" but some months after, being informed by Secretary Nicholas, he sent the Chancellor thanks for it, and expressed upon all occasions that he was much pleased with that vindication.']

that they might thereby be enabled to sell some part that they might preserve the rest, and their houses from being pulled down or let fall down, and their woods from being wasted or spoiled; but notwithstanding all these vast receipts, which they ever pretended should ease the people of their burden, and should suffice to pay the army,) their expenses at sea and land, and their debts, were so great that they raised the public taxes; and, besides all customs and excise, they levied a monthly contribution of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds by a land tax throughout the kingdom; which was more than had been ever done before, and being at a time when they had no enemy who contended with them, was an evidence that it would have no end, and that the army was still to be kept up, to make good the resolution they had taken to have no more to do with the King; and that made the resolution generally the more odious. And all this grew the more insupportable, by reason that, upon the publishing this last monstrous Declaration, most of those persons of condition, who, as hath been said before, had been seduced to do them service throughout the kingdom, decline to appear longer in so detestable an employment; and now a more inferior sort of the common people succeeded in those employments, who thereby exercised so great insolence over those who were in quality above them, and who always had a power over them, that was very grievous; and for this, let the circumstances be what they would, no redress could ever be obtained, all distinction of quality being renounced. And they who were not above the condition of ordinary inferior constables six or seven years before, were now the justices of peace, sequestrators, and commissioners; who executed the commands of the Parliament in all the counties of the kingdom with such rigour and tyranny as was natural for such persons to use over and towards those upon whom they had formerly looked at such a distance. But let their sufferings be never so great, and the murmur and discontent never so general, there was no shadow of hope by which they might discern any possible relief; so that they who had struggled as long as they were able submitted patiently to the yoke, with the more

1648

1648 satisfaction in that they saw many of those who had been the principal contrivers of all the mischieves, to satisfy their own ambition and that they might govern over others, reduced now to almost as ill a condition as themselves, at least to as little power and authority and security; whilst the whole government of the nation remained, upon the matter, wholly in their hands who in the beginning of the Parliament were scarce ever heard of, or their names known but in the places where they inhabited.

152. The King being in this melancholic neglected condition, and the kingdom possessed by the new rulers without control in the new method of government, where every thing was done and submitted to which they propounded, they yet found that there was no foundation laid for their peace and future security; that, besides the general discontent of the nation, which for the present they did not fear, they were to expect new troubles from Ireland and from Scotland, which would in the progress have an influence upon England.

153. In Ireland, which they had totally neglected from the time of the differences and contests between the Parliament and the army, and from the King's being in the army, and though they were possessed of Dublin, and, upon the matter, of the whole province of Munster, by the activity of the lord Inchiquin and the lord Broghill, yet the Irish rebels had very great forces, which covered all the other parts of the kingdom. But they had no kind of fears of the Irish, whom they vanquished as often as they saw, and never declined fighting upon any inequality of number. They had an apprehension of another enemy. The marquis of Ormonde had often attended the King at Hampton Court, and had great resort to him, whilst he stayed in London, by all those who had served the King, and not less by those who were known to be unsatisfied with the proceedings both of the Parliament and the army, and by the Scottish commissioners, who had frequently private meetings with him; insomuch as the officers of the army, who gave the first motion to all extravagant acts of power, had resolved to have apprehended and imprisoned him, as a man worthy of

their fear, though they had nothing to charge him with, and 1647
by his articles he had liberty to stay six months where he would in England, (which time was little more than half expired,) and then he might transport himself into what part he desired beyond the seas. The marquis had notice of this their purpose; and having conferred with his majesty as much as was necessary upon a reasonable foresight of what was like to fall out, shortly after or about the time that the King left Hampton Court, he in disguise, and without being attended by more than one servant, rode into Sussex, and, in an obscure and unguarded port or harbour[1], put himself on board a shallop, Feb.
which safely transported him into Normandy; from whence he waited upon the Queen and the Prince of Wales at Paris, to whom he could not but be very welcome.

154. At the same time there were commissioners arrived March.
from Ireland from the Confederate Catholics, who, after they had driven the King's authority from them, quickly found they needed it for their own preservation. The factions grew so great amongst the Irish themselves, and the Pope's nuncio exercised his authority with so great tyranny and insolence, that all were weary of him, and found that the Parliament, as soon as they should send more forces over, would easily, by reason of their divisions, reduce them into great straits and necessities. They therefore sent commissioners to the Queen and Prince to desire that by their favour they might have the King's authority again amongst them, to which they promised for the future a ready obedience, with many acknowledgments of their former miscarriage and behaviour. It is very true that the marquis of Antrim, who was one of the commissioners, and was always inseparable from the highest ambition, though without any qualification for any great trust, had entertained the hope that, by the Queen's favour, who had too good an opinion of him, the government of Ireland should be committed to him and his conduct; which none of the other commissioners thought of, nor had their eyes fixed on any man but the marquis of Ormonde, in whom the King's authority was vested; for

[1] [He sailed from Hastings to Dieppe.]

1647 he remained still Lieutenant of Ireland by the King's commission; and they had reason to believe that all the English Protestants who had formerly lived under his government, (without a conjunction with whom they well foresaw the Irish would not be able to defend or preserve themselves,) would return to the same obedience as soon as he should return to receive it. The Queen and the Prince thought not of trusting any other in that most hazardous and difficult employment, and so referred the commissioners to make all their overtures and propositions to him, who knew well enough what they would not do if they could, and what they could not do if they had a mind to it; and how devoted soever he was to the King's service, nothing proposed or undertaken by them could have been the least inducement to him to engage himself, and to depend upon their fidelities. But there were three things, which, with the great and entire zeal for the King's service to which he had dedicated himself, made him believe that he might with some success appear again in that kingdom in this conjuncture, and that his so doing might have a good effect upon the temper of England, and towards the mending his majesty's condition there.

155. First, the cardinal Mazaryne (who then absolutely governed France) seemed very earnestly to advise it, and promised to supply him with a good sum of money, and store of arms and ammunition to carry with him, which he knew very well how to dispose there. Secondly, he was privy to the Scots' engagement, and to a resolution of many persons of great honour in England to appear in arms at the same time; which was designed for the summer following; whereby the Parliament and army, which were like to have new divisions amongst themselves, would not be able to send any considerable supplies into Ireland; without which, their power there was not like to be formidable. Thirdly, which was a greater encouragement than the other two, he had during his abode in England held a close correspondence with the lord Inchiquin, President of the province of Munster in Ireland, who had the full power and command of all the English army there; which

was a better body of men than the Parliament had in any other part of that kingdom. That lord was weary of his masters, and did not think the service he had done the Parliament (which indeed had been very great, and without which it is very probable that whole kingdom had been united to his majesty's service) well requited, and did really and heartily abhor the proceedings of the Parliament and army towards the King; and did therefore resolve to redeem what he had formerly done amiss, with exposing all he had for his majesty's restoration; and had frankly promised the marquis to receive him in Munster as the King's Lieutenant of that kingdom, and that that whole province and army should pay him all obedience; and that against the time he should be sure of his presence, he would make a cessation with the Irish in order to a firm conjunction of that whole kingdom for the King. And after the marquis came into France he received still letters from that lord to hasten his journey thither. 1647

156. These were the motives which disposed the marquis to comply with the Queen's and the Prince's command to prepare himself for that expedition; and so he concerted all things with the Irish commissioners; who returned into their country, with promises to dispose their General Assembly to consent to those conditions as might not bring a greater prejudice to the King than any conjunction with them could be of advantage.

157. The Parliament had too many spies and agents at Paris not to be informed of whatsoever was whispered there; but whether they undervalued any conjunction with the Irish, (for of the lord Inchiquin they had no suspicion,) or whether they were confident of the cardinal's kindness, that he would not advance any design against them, they[1] were not so apprehensive of trouble from Ireland as they were of their brethren from Scotland; where they heard of great preparations, and of a purpose to call a Parliament and to raise an army, which they believed would find too many friends in England, the Presbyterian party holding up their heads again both in the Parliament and the city. Besides, they knew that some persons

[1] ['but that,' MS.]

1647 of quality and interest, who had served the King in good command in the late war, were gone into Scotland, and well received there; which they thought would draw the King's party together upon the first appearance.

158. After the King had been so infamously delivered up to the Parliament by the Scots at Newcastle, and as soon as the army had possessed themselves of him, that nation was in terrible apprehension that the officers of the army would have made their peace and established their own greatness by restoring the King to his just rights, of which they had so foully deprived him; and then the conscience of their guilt made them presume what their lot must be; and therefore the same commissioners who had been joined with the committee of Parliament in all the transactions made haste to Westminster again to their old seats, to keep their interest; which was great in all the Presbyterian party, both of Parliament and city; for there remained still the same profession of maintaining the strict union between the two kingdoms, and that all transactions should be by joint counsels. And as soon as the King appeared with some show of liberty, and his own servants had leave to attend him, no men appeared with more confidence than the Scotch commissioners, the earl of Lowden, the earl of Latherdale, and the rest, as if they had been the men who had to contrive his restoration: no men in so frequent whispers with the King: and they found some way to get themselves so much believed by the Queen, with whom they held a diligent correspondence, that her majesty very earnestly persuaded the King to trust them, as the only persons who had power and credit to do him service and to redeem him from the captivity he was in. The duke Hambleton, who had been sent prisoner by the King to the castle of Pendennis, and had been delivered from thence by the army when that place was taken in the end of the war, had enjoyed his liberty and his pleasure at London, and in his own house at Chelsy, as long as he thought fit, that is, as long as the King was with the Scots' army and at Newcastle; and when he was delivered up to the Parliament commissioners, he went into Scotland without seeing the King, and

went to his own house at Hambleton, looked upon by that nation as one who had unjustly suffered under the King's jealousy and displeasure, and who remained still very faithful to him. And during the time that he remained in and about London, he found means to converse with many of the King's party, and made great professions that he would do the King a very signal service, which he desired them to assure his majesty of, and seemed exceedingly troubled and ashamed at his countrymen's giving up the King. And his having no share in that infamy made him the more trusted in England, and to be received with the more respect in Scotland by all those who abhorred that transaction. 1647

159. The commissioners who attended his majesty made great apologies for what had been done, imputing it wholly to the malice and power of the marquis of Arguyle, and to his credit and authority in the council and in the army, so that nothing could be done which was desired by honest men; but that now duke Hambleton was amongst them, who they knew was most devoted to his majesty, they should be able to overpower Arguyle; and the proceedings of the army and the Parliament were so foul, and so contrary to their public faith, that they were confident that all Scotland would rise as one man for his majesty's defence and vindication; and they were well assured there would such a party in England of those who were faithful to his majesty appear at the same time, that there would be little question of being able, between them, to be hard enough for that part of the army that would oppose them; which his majesty knew well was resolved by many persons of honour, who afterwards performed what they had promised.

160. When the commissioners had by these insinuations gained new credit with the King, and had undertaken that their invading England with an army equal to the undertaking should be the foundation upon which all other hopes were to depend, (for no attempt in England could be reasonable before such an invasion, which was likewise to be hastened that it might be at the same time when the marquis of Ormonde should

1647 appear in Ireland,) they began to propose to him many conditions, which would be necessary for his majesty to engage himself to perform towards that nation, without which it would not be easy to engage it in so unanimous a consent and engagement as was necessary for such an enterprise. They required, as a thing without which nothing was to be undertaken, that the Prince of Wales should be present with them, and march in the head of their army, and desired that advertisement and order might be sent to that purpose to the Queen and the Prince at Paris, that so his highness might be ready for the voyage as soon as they should be prepared to receive him. The King would by no means consent that the Prince should go into Scotland, being too well acquainted with the manners and fidelity of that people; but he was contented that when they should have entered England with their army then the Prince of Wales should put himself in the head of them. They demanded that such a number of Scotchmen should be always in the Court, of the bedchamber, and all other places about the persons of the King and Prince and duke of York: that Barwick and Carlisle should be put into the hands of the Scots; and some other concessions with reference to the northern counties, which trenched so far upon the honour and interest of the English, that his majesty utterly refused to consent to it; and so the agreement was not concluded when the King left Hampton Court. But as soon as he was at the Isle of Wight the Scottish commissioners repaired to him, at the same time with those who were sent to him from the Parliament for his royal assent to those four bills spoken of before; and then,
Dec. 26. in that season of despair, they prevailed with him to sign the propositions he had formerly refused; and having great apprehensions, from the jealousies they knew the army had of them, that they should be seized upon and searched in their return to London, they made up their precious contract in lead, and buried it in a garden in the Isle of Wight, from whence they easily found means afterwards to receive it. So constant was this people to their principles, and so wary to be sure to be no losers by returning to their allegiance, to which neither con-

science or honour did invite or dispose them. And so, after a 1647
stay of some months at London to adjust all accounts, and receive the remainder of those moneys they had so dearly earned, or so much of it as they had hope would be paid, they returned to Scotland[1], with the hatred and contempt of the army, and the Parliament that was then governed by it, but with the veneration of the Presbyterian party, which still had faith in them, and exceedingly depended upon their future negotiation, to which they were now incumbent: and in order thereunto, a fast intercourse and correspondence was settled, as well by constant letters as by frequent emissaries of their clergy, or other persons whose devotion to their combination was unquestionable.

161[2]. It can never be enough wondered at that the Scots, being a watchful and crafty people, and the principal of whom were as unrestrained by conscience as any of the officers of the army were, and only intended their particular advantage and ambition, should yet hope to carry on their interest by such conditions and limitations as all wise men saw must absolutely ruin and destroy it. They knew well enough the spirit of their own people, and that though it would be no hard matter to draw a numerous army enough together, yet that being together it would be able to do very little towards any vigorous attempt; and therefore their whole dependence was upon the assistance they should find ready to join with them in England. It is true they did believe the body of the Presbyterians there to be much more considerable than in truth it was; yet they did or might have known that the most considerable persons who in the contest with the other faction were content to be thought Presbyterians, were so only as they thought it might restore the King, which they more impatiently desired than any alteration in the government of the Church; and that they did heartily intend a conjunction with all the royal party, upon whose interest, conduct, and courage, they did more rely than upon the power of the Scots; who did publicly profess

[1] [Leave was taken of them by the House of Lords on Jan. 18.]
[2] [§§ 161–172 are from the *Hist.*, pp. 20–25.]

1647 that all the King's friends should be most welcome, and received by them: nor did they trust any one Presbyterian in England with the knowledge of the particulars contained in the agreement with the King, but concealed it between the three persons who transacted it; and if it had been known, Cromwell might as easily have overrun their country before their army invaded England as he did afterwards, nor would one Englishman have joined with them. Besides the infamous circumstances by which they extorted concessions from the King, which would have rendered any contract odious, (being in those four days which were only assigned both to the English and Scots' commissioners, so that his majesty had not only [no[1]] time to advise with others, but could not advise with himself, upon so many monstrous particulars as were demanded of him by both kingdoms; which if he could have done, he would no more then have submitted to them than he did afterwards upon longer deliberation, and when his life appeared to be in more manifest danger by his refusal,) the particulars themselves were the most scandalous and derogatory to the honour and interest of the English nation, and would have been abominated, if known and understood, by all men with all possible indignation.

162. After they had made his majesty give a good testimony of their League and Covenant, in the preface of their agreement, and that the intentions of those who had entered into it were real for the preservation of his majesty's person and authority, according to their allegiance, and no ways to diminish his just power and greatness, they obliged him, as soon as he could with freedom, honour, and safety, be present in a free Parliament, to confirm the said League and Covenant by Act of Parliament in both kingdoms, for the security of all who had taken or should take it. It is true, they admitted a proviso that none who was unwilling should be constrained to take it. They likewise obliged his majesty to confirm by Act of Parliament in England Presbyterian government, the Directory for worship, and the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, for three

[1] ['any,' MS.]

years, so that his majesty and his household should not be hindered from using that form of divine service he had formerly practised; and that during those three years there should be a consultation with the Assembly of Divines, to which twenty of the King's nomination should be added, and some from the Church of Scotland; and thereupon it should be determined by his majesty and the two Houses of Parliament what form of government should be established after the expiration of those years, and as should be most agreeable to the word of God; that an effectual course should be taken by Act of Parliament, and all other ways needful or expedient, for the suppressing the opinions and practices of Anti-Trinitarians, Arians, Socinians, Anti-Scripturists, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Arminians, Familists, Brownists, Separatists, Independents, Libertines, and Seekers, and generally for the suppressing all blasphemy, heresy, schism, and all such scandalous doctrines and practices as are contrary to the light of nature and to the known principles of Christianity, whether concerning faith, worship, or conversation, or to the power of godliness, or which may be destructive to order and government, or to the peace of the Church or kingdom. The King promised, that in the next session of Parliament, after the kingdom of Scotland should declare for his majesty in pursuance of this agreement, he should in person or by commission confirm the League and Covenant in that kingdom; and concerning all the Acts passed in the last Parliament of that kingdom, his majesty declared, that he should then likewise be content to give assurance by Act of Parliament that neither he nor his successors should quarrel, call in question, or command the contrary of, any of them, nor question any for giving obedience to the same. Then they made a long recital of the agreement the Parliament of England had made, when the Scots' army returned to Scotland, that the army under Fayrefax should be disbanded, and of that army's not submitting thereunto; of their taking the King from Holmeby, and keeping him prisoner till he fled from them to the Isle of Wight; and since that time both his majesty and the commissioners of the kingdom of Scotland had very ear- 1647

1647 nestly [desired] that the King might come to London in safety, honour, and freedom, for a personal treaty with the two Houses and the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland, which, they said, had been granted; but that the army had in a violent manner forced away divers members of the Parliament from the discharge of their trust, and possessed themselves of the city of London and all the strengths and garrisons of the kingdoms: and that[1] by the strength and influence of that army and their adherents, propositions and bills had been sent to the King without the advice and consent of the kingdom of Scotland, and contrary to the treaties which are between the two kingdoms, and which are destructive to religion, his majesty's just rights, the privileges of Parliament, and liberty of the subject; from which propositions and bills the Scots' commissioners had dissented, and protested against in the name of the kingdom of Scotland.

163. After this preamble and recital, they said that, forasmuch as his majesty is willing to give satisfaction concerning the settling religion and other matters in difference, as is expressed in this agreement, the kingdom of Scotland doth oblige and engage itself, first, in a peaceable way and manner to endeavour that the King may come to London in safety, honour, and freedom, for a personal treaty with the Houses of Parliament and the commissioners of Scotland, upon such propositions as should be mutually agreed on between the kingdoms, and such propositions as his majesty should think fit to make; and for this end all armies should be disbanded: and in case that this should not be granted, that declarations should be emitted by the kingdom of Scotland, in pursuance of this agreement, against the unjust proceedings of the two Houses of Parliament towards his majesty and the kingdom of Scotland; in which they would assert the right that belonged to the Crown in the power of the militia, the Great Seal, bestowing of honours and offices of trust, choice of Privy Councillors, and the right of the King's negative voice in Parliament: and that the Queen's majesty, the Prince, and the rest of the royal issue,

[1] ['that they had,' MS.]

ought to remain where his majesty shall think fit, in either of 1647
his kingdoms, with safety, honour, and freedom: that upon the issuing out this declaration, an army should be sent out of Scotland into England, for the preservation and establishment of religion, for defence of his majesty's person and authority and restoring him to his government, to the just rights of the Crown, and his full revenues, for defence of the privileges of Parliament and liberties of the subject, for making a firm union between the kingdoms under his majesty and his posterity, and settling a lasting peace. In pursuance whereof the kingdom of Scotland was to endeavour that there might be a free and full Parliament in England, and that his majesty may be with them in honour, safety, and freedom, and that a speedy period be set to the present Parliament. And they undertook that the army which they would raise should be upon its march before the message and declaration should be delivered to the Houses. It was farther agreed, that all such in the kingdoms of England and Ireland as would join [with[1]] the kingdom of Scotland, in pursuance of this agreement, should be protected by his majesty in their persons and estates; and that all his majesty's subjects in England or Ireland who would join with him, in pursuance of this agreement, might come to the Scotch army and join with them, or else put themselves into other bodies in England or Wales, for prosecution of the same ends, as the King's majesty should judge most convenient, and under such commanders or generals of the English nation as his majesty should think fit: and that all such should be protected by the kingdom of Scotland and their army in their persons and estates; and where any injury or wrong is done unto them, they would be careful to see them fully repaired, as far as it should be in their power to do; and likewise when any injury or wrong is done to those who join with the kingdom of Scotland, his majesty shall be careful of their full reparation.

164. They obliged his majesty to promise that neither himself nor any by his authority or knowledge should make or admit of any cessation, pacification, or agreement whatsoever

[1] ['in,' MS.]

1647 for peace, nor of any treaty, propositions, bills, or any other ways for that end, with the Houses of Parliament, or any army or party in England or Ireland, without the advice and consent of the kingdom of Scotland; and, reciprocally, that [neither] the kingdom of Scotland, nor any having their authority, should make or admit of any of these, any manner of way, with any whatsoever, without his majesty's advice or consent: and that upon the settlement of a peace there should be an Act of oblivion to be agreed on by his majesty and both his Parliaments of both kingdoms; that his majesty, the Prince, or both, should come into Scotland, upon the invitation of that kingdom, and their declaration that they should be in honour, freedom, and safety, when possibly they could come with safety and convenience; and that the King should contribute his utmost endeavour, both at home and abroad, for assisting the kingdom of Scotland for carrying on this war by sea and land, and for their supplies by moneys, arms, ammunition, and all other things requisite, as also for guarding the coasts of Scotland with ships, and protecting all such merchants in their free exercise of their trade and commerce with other nations; and likewise that his majesty was willing and did authorize the Scots' army to possess themselves of Barwick, Carlisle, Newcastle upon Tyne, with the castle of Tinmoth and the town of Hartlepoole; those places to be for retreat and magazines; and that when the peace of the kingdoms should be settled, the kingdom of Scotland should remove their forces, and deliver back again those towns and castles.

165. And [as] if all this had not been recompense enough for the wonderful service they were like to perform, they obliged the King to promise, and undertake to pay, the remainder of that brotherly assistance which was yet unpaid upon the large treaty after their first invasion of England, and likewise two hundred thousand pounds, which remained still due upon the last treaty made with the Houses of Parliament for return of the Scots' army, when they had delivered up the King; and also, that payment should be made to the kingdom of Scotland for the charge and expense of their army in this

future war, with due recompense for the losses which they 1647
should sustain therein; and that due satisfaction, according to the treaty on that behalf betwixt the two kingdoms, should be made to the Scotch army in Ireland, out of the lands of the kingdom or otherwise: and that the King, according to the intention of his father, should endeavour a complete union of the two kingdoms, so as they may be one under his majesty and his posterity; or if that cannot speedily be effected, that all liberties [and] privileges, concerning commerce, traffic, manufactures, peculiar to the subjects of either nation, shall be common to the subjects of both kingdoms without distinction; and that there be a communication and mutual capacity of all other privileges of the subjects in the two kingdoms: that a competent number of ships should be yearly assigned and appointed out of his majesty's navy, which should attend the coasts of Scotland for a guard and freedom of trade of that nation; and that his majesty should declare that his successors, as well as himself, are obliged to the performance of the articles and conditions of this agreement; but that his majesty shall not be obliged to the performance of the foresaid articles until the kingdom of Scotland shall declare for him in pursuance of this agreement; and that the whole articles and conditions aforesaid shall be finished, perfected, and performed, before the return of the Scots' army; and that when they return into Scotland, at the same time, *simul et semel*, all armies should be disbanded in England. And for a complement, and to give a relish to all the rest, the King engaged himself to employ those of the Scots' nation equally with the English in all foreign employments and negotiations; and that a third part of all the offices and places about the King, Queen, and Prince, should be conferred upon some persons of that nation; and that the King and Prince, or one of them, will frequently reside in Scotland, that the subjects of that kingdom may be known to them.

166. This treaty and agreement being thus presented to the King by the Scots' commissioners in the castle of Carisbrooke, his majesty was prevailed with to sign the same upon the 26th day of December, 1647, and to oblige himself, in the word of a

1647 King, to perform his part of the said articles; and the earl of Lowden, Chancellor of Scotland, the earl of Latherdale, and the earl of Lanricke, being intrusted as commissioners for that kingdom, signed it likewise at the same time; and engaged themselves upon their honour, faith, and conscience, and all that is dear to honest men, to endeavour to the utmost of their power that the kingdom of Scotland should engage to perform what was on its part to be performed; which they were confident the kingdom of Scotland would do, and they themselves would hazard their lives and fortunes in pursuance thereof.

167. No man who reads this treaty (which very few men have ever done) can wonder that such an engagement met with the fate that attended it; which contained so many monstrous concessions, that, except the whole kingdom of England had been likewise imprisoned in Carisbrooke castle with the King, it could not be imagined that it was possible to be performed; and the three persons who were parties to it were too wise to believe that it could be punctually observed; which they used as the best argument, and that which only prevailed with the King, that the treaty was only made to enable them to engage the kingdom of Scotland to raise an army, and to unite it in his majesty's service, which less than those concessions would never induce them to do; but when that army should be entered into England, and so many other armies should be on foot of his English subjects for the vindication of his interest, there would be nobody to exact all those particulars, but every body would submit to what his majesty should think fit to be done; which, though it had been urged more than once before to induce the King to consent to other inconveniences, which they would never after release to him, did prevail with him at this time. And to confirm him in the belief of it, they were contented that it should be inserted under the same treaty, as it was, that his majesty did declare, that by the clause of confirming Presbyterian government by Act of Parliament, he is neither obliged to desire the settling Presbyterian government, nor to present any bill to that effect; and that he likewise understands that no person whatsoever shall suffer in

his estate, nor undergo any corporal punishment, for not sub- 1647
mitting to Presbyterian government; his majesty understanding that this [indemnity] should not extend to those who are mentioned [in the article] against toleration: and to this the three earls likewise subscribed their hands, as witnesses only, (as they said,) that his majesty had made that declaration in their presence, not as assenters; so wary they were of administering jealousy to their masters, or of being thought to be less rigid in so fundamental a point as they knew that would be thought to be.

168. It was a wonderful difference, throughout their whole proceedings, between the heads of those who were thought to sway the Presbyterian councils and those who governed the Independents, though they were equally masters of dissimulation, and had equally malice and wickedness in their intentions, though not of the same kind, and were equally unrestrained by any scruples or motions of conscience; the Independents always doing that which, how ill and unjustifiable soever, contributed still to the end they aimed at, and to the conclusion they meant to bring to pass; whereas the Presbyterians, for the most part, did always somewhat that reasonably must destroy their own end, and cross that which they first and principally designed. And there were two reasons that might naturally produce this unsuccess in the latter, at least hindered the even progress and current which favoured the other. First, their councils were most distracted and divided, being made up of many men whose humours and natures must be observed and complied with, and whose concurrence was necessary to the carrying on, though their inclinations did not concur in, the same designs; whereas the other party was entirely led and governed by two or three, to whom they resigned implicitly the conduct of their interest; who advanced when they saw it seasonable[1], and stood still, or retired, or even declined the way they best liked, when they saw any inconvenient jealousy awaked by the progress they had made.

169. In the second place, the Presbyterians, (by whom I mean the Scots,) formed all their counsels by the inclinations

[1] ['seasonably,' MS.]

1647 and affections of the people; and first considered how they might corrupt, and seduce, and dispose, them to second their purposes, and how far they might depend upon their concurrence and assistance, before they resolved to make any attempt; and this made them in such a degree submit to their senseless and wretched clergy, whose infectious breath corrupted and governed the people, and whose authority was prevalent upon their own wives and in their domestic affairs; and yet they never communicated to them more than the outside of their designs. Whereas, on the other side, Cromwell, and the few others with whom he consulted, first considered what was absolutely necessary to their main and determined end, and then, whether it were right or wrong, to make all other means subservient to it; to cozen and deceive men, as long as they could induce them to contribute to what they desired, upon motives how foreign soever, and when they would keep company with them no longer, or farther serve their purposes, to compel them by force to submit to what they should not be able to oppose. And so the one resolved only to do what they believed the people would like and approve; and the other, that the people should like and approve what they had resolved. And this difference in the measures they took was the true cause of the so different success in all they undertook. Machiavell was in the right, though he got an ill name by it with those who take what he says from the report of other men, or do not enough consider themselves what he says, and his method in speaking: he was as great an enemy to tyranny and injustice in any government as any man then was or now is, and says, that a man were better be a dog than to be subject to those passions and appetites which possess all unjust and ambitious and tyrannical persons; but he confesses, that they who are so transported, and have entertained such wicked designs as are void of all conscience, must not think to prosecute them by the rules of conscience, which was laid aside or subdued before they entered upon them; they must make [no] scruple of doing all those impious things which are necessary to compass and support the impiety to which they have devoted themselves; and

therefore he commends Cæsar Bor[g]ia [1] for not being startled 1647
with breach of faith, perjuries, and murders, for the removal of those men who he was sure would cross and enervate the whole enterprise he had resolved and addicted himself to, and blames those usurpers who [had [2]] made themselves tyrants, for hoping to support a government by justice which they had assumed unjustly, and which, having wickedly attempted, they manifestly lost by not being wicked enough. The common old adage, that he who hath drawn his sword against his prince ought to throw away the scabbard, never to think of sheathing it again, hath never been received in a neighbour climate, but hath been looked upon, in the frolic humour of that nation, as a gaiety that manifests a noble spirit, and may conduce to many advantages, and hath been controlled by some wonderful successes in this age, in those parts which used not to be so favourable to such attempts: yet without doubt the rule will still hold good; and they who enter upon unwarrantable enterprises must pursue many unwarrantable ways to preserve themselves from the penalty of the first guilt.

170. Cromwell, though the greatest dissembler living, always made his hypocrisy of singular use and benefit to him, and never did any thing, how ungracious or imprudent soever it seemed to be, but what was necessary to the design; even his roughness and unpolishedness, which in the beginning of the Parliament he affected, contrary to the smoothness and complacency which his cousin and bosom friend Mr. Hambden practised towards all men, was necessary; and his first public declaration in the beginning of the war to his troop when it was first mustered, that he would not deceive or cozen them by the perplexed and involved expressions in his commission, to fight for 'King and Parliament,' and therefore told them, that if the King chanced to be in the body of the enemy that he was to charge, he would as soon discharge his pistol upon him as at any other private person, and if their conscience would not permit them to do the like, he advised them not to list themselves in his troop or under his command, which was

[1] [*Princeps*, cap. VII, &c.

[2] ['having,' MS.]

1647 generally looked upon as imprudent and malicious, and might by the professions the Parliament then made have proved dangerous to him, yet served his turn, and severed [from others,] and united, all the furious and incensed men against the government, whether ecclesiastical or civil, to look upon him as a man for their turn, and upon whom they might depend, as one who would go through his work that he undertook. And his strict and unsociable humour in not keeping company with the other officers of the army in their jollities and excesses, to which most of the superior officers under the earl of Essex were inclined, and by which he often made himself ridiculous or contemptible, drew all those of the like sour or reserved natures to his society and conversation, and gave him opportunity to form their understandings, inclinations, and resolutions, to his own model. And by this he grew to have a wonderful interest in the common soldiers, out of which, as his authority increased, he made all his officers, well instructed how to live in the same manner with their soldiers, that they might be able to apply them to their own purposes. Whilst he looked upon the Presbyterian humour as the best incentive to rebellion, no man more a Presbyterian; he sung all psalms with them to their tunes, and loved the longest sermons as much as they; but when he discovered that they would prescribe some limits and bounds to their rebellion, that it was not well breathed, and would expire as soon as some few particulars were granted to them in religion which he cared not for, and then that the government must run still in the same channel, it concerned him to make it believed that the State had been more delinquent than the Church, and that the people suffered more by the civil than by the ecclesiastical power; and therefore that the change of one would give them little ease, if there were not as great an alteration in the other, and if the whole government in both were not reformed and altered; which though it made him generally odious, and irreconciled many of his old friends to him, yet it made those who remained more cordial and firm to him, and he could better compute his own strength and upon whom he might depend. And this

discovery made him contrive the [new] model [of the army;] 1647
which was the most unpopular act, and disobliged all those who first contrived the rebellion, and who were the very soul of it; and yet if he had not brought that to pass, and changed a general who, though not very sharpsighted, would never be governed, nor applied to any thing he did not like, for another who had no eyes, and so would be willing to be led, all his designs must have come to nothing, and he remained a private colonel of horse, not considerable enough to be in any figure upon an advantageous composition.

171. After all the successes of his new model, he saw his army was balanced by that of the Scots, who took themselves to have equal merit with the other, and was thought to have contributed no less towards the suppression of the King than that under Fayrefax had done, and who, after all the victories, and reduction of the King to that lowness, desired still a composition, and to submit again to the subjection of the King; nor was it yet time for him to own or communicate his resolution to the contrary, lest even many of those who wished the extirpation of monarchy might be startled at the difficulty of the enterprise, and with the power that was like to oppose them. And therefore he was first to incense the people against the Scots' nation, as being a mercenary aid entertained at a vast charge to the kingdom, that was only to be paid their wages and to be dismissed, without having the honour to judge with them upon what conditions the King should be received and restored; the accomplishing whereof ought to be the peculiar glory of the Parliament without a rival, and that the King might owe the benefit wholly to them. And this was as popular an argument as he could embark himself in, the whole kingdom in general having a great detestation of the Scots; and they who most desired the King's restoration wished that he might have as little obligation to them as was possible, and that they might have as little credit afterwards with him. And with this universal applause, he compelled the Scots to depart the kingdom, with that circumstance as must ever afterwards render them odious and infamous. There seemed nothing more

1647 dangerous and destructive to the power and interest of the army, in so general a discontent throughout the kingdom, than a division, and mutiny within itself; that the common soldiers should erect an authority distinct from their officers, and by which they would choose to govern against their superior commanders, at least without them, and to fancy that they had an interest of their own severed from that of the army, and for the preservation whereof they were to trust none but themselves; which had been never heard of before in any army, and was looked upon as a presage of the ruin of the whole, and of those who had adhered to them; and yet, if he had not raised this seditious spirit in the army, he could not have prevented the disbanding some part of the army and sending another part of it into Ireland, before the Scots left Newcastle; nor have been able to have taken the King from Holmeby into the hands of the army after the Scots were gone. And after all his hypocrisy towards the King and his party, by which he prevented many inconveniences which might have befallen him, he could never have been rid of him again so unreproachfully as by his changing his own countenance, and giving other cause to the King to suspect the safety of his person, and thereupon to make his escape from the army, by which he quickly became a prisoner, and so was deprived of any resort, from whence many mischieves might have proceeded to have disturbed his counsels. And how constantly he pursued this method in his subsequent actions will be observed in its place.

172. Contrary to this the Presbyterian Scots proceeded in all their actions after their first invasion in the year 1640, and always interwove some condition in their counsels and transactions which did not only prove, but in the instant might have been discerned to be, diametrically opposite to their interests public and to their particular designs. It is very true that their first invasion, saving their breach of allegiance, might have some excuse from their interest. They were a poor people, and though many particular men of that nation had received great bounties, and were exceedingly enriched in the Court of England by King James and the present King, yet those particular

men who had been and then were in the Court were, for the most part, persons of no interest in Scotland; nor was that kingdom at all enriched by the conjunction with this; and they found themselves exposed to some late pressures which were new to them, and which their preachers told them were against conscience and an invasion of their religion; [from] which [they] had vindicated[1] themselves so rudely and unwarrantably, that they might well expect to be called to an account hereafter if those persons whom they had most provoked retained their interest still with the King and in his councils; from whom they were promised to be secured, and to be well paid for their pains, if they would, by marching into England with an army, give their friends their countenance to own their own grievances, and so to procure relief and security for both kingdoms. And in this enterprise the success crowned their work; they were thought a wise and a resolute nation, and, after an unbloody war of above a year, they returned into their country laden with spoils and great riches, and were liberally rewarded as well for going out as for coming into England. But from their return from this expedition their whole true interest consisted in and depended upon an entire adhering to the King, and vindicating his honour and interest from all assaults; and their being suborned afterwards, and when the King was in a hopeful way to have reduced his rebels to their obedience by the strength and power of his arms, to make a second invasion of the kingdom, was a weak and childish engagement, and directly opposite to their interest, except they had at the same time a resolution to have changed their own government, and for ever to have renounced subjection to monarchy, (which was never in their purpose to do,) or to withdraw it from the present King. When his majesty had trusted them so far (which they had never reason to expect) as to put his royal person into their hands, and thereby given them an opportunity to redeem themselves in the eye of the world, and to undo some part of the mischieve they had done, it was their interest to have joined cordially with him, and firmly to have united them- 1647

[1] ['and which had vindicated,' MS.]

1647 selves to his party in vindication of the law and the government established; and if they had not the courage at that time to have looked the English army in the face, as apparently they had not, it had been their interest to have retired with the King in the head of their army into Scotland; and, leaving good garrisons in Newcastle, Barwick, and Carlisle, all which were in their possession, to have expected a revolution in England from the divisions amongst themselves, and from some conjunction with a strong body of the King's English party, which would quickly have found themselves together; and the delivery of the King up, besides the infamy of it, was, in view, destructive to all that could be thought their interest.

173. And after all this, when they found themselves cozened and deceived in all the measures they had taken, and laughed at and despised by those who had deceived them, to have a new opportunity to serve the King, and then to insist upon such conditions as must make it impossible for them to serve him effectually, was such a degree of sottishness and a depraved understanding that they can never be looked upon as men who knew what their interest was, or what [was] necessary to advance their own designs. And yet we shall be obliged to observe how incorrigibly they adhered to this obstinate and froward method in all the transactions they afterwards had with the King; all which turned, as it could not but do, to their own ruin, and the destruction of that idol they adored and paid their devotion to. But it is time to return to our discourse, from whence this tedious digression hath misled us.

174[1]. All designs and negotiations, abroad and at home, being in this state and condition, the King remained under a strict and disconsolate imprisonment, no man being suffered to speak with him, and all diligence used to intercept all letters which might pass to or from him; yet he found means sometimes, by the affection and fidelity of some inhabitants of the island, to receive important advertisements from his friends, and to write and receive letters from the Queen; and so he informed her of the Scotch transaction, and of all the other hopes he had; and

[1] [§§ 174–178 are from the *Life*, pp. 337–8.]

he seemed to take much pleasure, and looked upon it as a good 1648
omen, that in that desperate lowness of his fortune, and notwithstanding all the care that was taken that none should be about him but men of the most barbarous and inhuman tempers and natures, void of all reverence towards God and man, his majesty's gracious disposition and generous affability still wrought upon some soldier, or other person placed about him, to undertake and perform some offices of trust in conveying papers to and from him; so great a force and influence had natural duty; or some desperate men had so much craft and forecast, to lay out a little application that might bring advantage to them in such a change as they neither looked for nor desired: for many who did undertake to perform those offices did not make good all they promised; which made it plain that they were permitted to get credit, that they might the more usefully betray.

175. In the Parliament there was no opposition or contradiction in any thing relating to the public, but in all those transactions which concerned particular persons, with reference to rewards, preferments, or matter of profit, men were considered according to the party they were of, and every day those received benefit who had appeared most to adhere to the army; and the notorious Presbyterians were removed from all places of profit and authority, which vexed them, and well prepared and disposed them to be ready for revenge. But the pulpit-skirmishes were higher than ever; the Presbyterians, in those fields, losing nothing of their courage, and having a notorious power in the city, notwithstanding the emulation of the Independents, who were more learned and rational; who, though they had not so great congregations of the common people, infected, and were followed by, the most substantial and wealthy citizens, and by others of better condition; and to these men Cromwell and most of the officers of the army adhered, with bitterness against the other. But the divinity of the time was not to be judged by the preaching and congregations in churches, which were now thought not to be the fit and proper places for devotion and religious assemblies, where the bishops had exercised such illimited

1648 tyranny, and which had been polluted by their original consecration. Liberty of conscience was now become the great charter, and men who were inspired preached and prayed when and where they would. Cromwell himself was the greatest preacher, and most of the officers of the army, and many common soldiers, shewed their gifts that way. Anabaptists and Quakers grew very numerous, with whom the Independents concurred so far as to join with them for the utter abolishing of tithes, as of Judaical institution; which was now the patrimony of the Presbyterians, and therefore prosecuted by one party and defended by the other with equal passion and animosity. And if any man could have been at so much ease as to have beheld the prospect with delight, never was such a scene of confusion as at this time had spread itself over the face of the whole kingdom.

176. The Prince remained all this time at Paris, under the government of his mother, exercised with that strictness that, though his highness was above the age of eighteen years, he never put on his hat before the Queen, nor was it desired that he should meddle in any business, or be sensible of the unhappy condition the royal family was in. The assignation which was made by the Crown of France for the better support of the Prince was annexed to the monthly allowance which was given to the Queen, and received by her, and distributed as she thought fit, and such clothes and other necessaries provided for his highness as was thought necessary; her majesty desiring to have it thought that the Prince lived entirely upon her, and that it would not consist with the dignity of the Prince of Wales to be a pensioner to the King of France. And hereby none of his highness's servants had any pretence to ask money, but were to be contented with what should be allowed to them, which was dispensed with a very sparing hand; nor was the Prince himself ever master of ten pistoles to dispose as he desired. The lord Jermin was the Queen's chief officer, and governed all her receipts; and he loved plenty so well that he would not be without it, whatever others suffered who had been more acquainted with it. All who had any relation to the Prince were to implore his aid, and the Prince himself could obtain nothing but by him;

which made all persons of honour of the English nation who were driven into banishment, as many of the nobility and chief gentry of the kingdom then were, choose to make their residence in any other place, as Caen, Rouen, and the like, than in Paris where the Prince was and could do so little: nor was this economy well liked in France, nor the Prince himself so much respected as he would have been if he had lived more like himself, and appeared more concerned in his own business. 1648

177. When the marquis of Ormonde came thither, he was received very graciously by the Queen, and consulted with in all things, being the person most depended upon to begin to give a turn to their fortune, recommended to them by the King, and of the most universal reputation of any subject the King had. He pressed a speedy despatch, that he might pursue his designs in Ireland, where he longed to be whilst the affairs of that kingdom were no more taken to heart by the Parliament, who had yet sent no supplies thither. He informed the Queen and the lord Jermin of the necessity of hastening that work, which they understood well enough by the Irish commissioners who had been there, and had been sent back with a million of promises; which was a coin that Court always abounded with, and made most of its payments in. March.

178. When the Queen, (who was as zealous for the despatch as was possible,) pressed the Queen Regent and the cardinal upon it, she received all the satisfaction imaginable, and assurance that all things should be speedily provided; and when the marquis spake first with the cardinal upon the subject, he found him so well disposed, and making such ample promises for a very good sum of money, and such a proportion of arms and ammunition as could be wished, so that he thought he had no more to do but to appoint the place for his embarkation, that those provisions might be sent thither to meet him, and that he should be ready to transport himself within a very short time; of which he gave notice to those who expected him in Ireland, and prepared all his own accommodations accordingly. But he was very much disappointed in his expectation; the cardinal was not so confident of the King's recovery as to disoblige the

1648 Parliament by contributing towards it: so that affair advanced very slowly[1].

179[2]. Having now, contrary to the order formerly observed by me, crowded in all the particular passages and important transactions of two whole years into this book, that I might not interrupt or discontinue the relation of the mysterious proceedings of the army, their great hypocrisy and dissimulation practised towards the King and his party, and then their pulling off their mask and appearing in their natural dress of inhumanity and savageness, with the vile artifices of the Scots' commissioners to draw the King into their hands, and then their low and base compliance and gross folly in delivering him up, and lastly their absurd and merchandly trafficking with him for the price of returning to the[ir] allegiance when there was no other way to preserve themselves and their nation from being destroyed; the many woeful tragedies of the next [year], which filled the world with amazement and horror, must be the subject of the discourse in the next book.

[1] This section at first ended thus: 'so that after many months' attendance, the winter, which was the season to be made use of, was over, and the marquis as far from knowing when he should go as he was when he came thither.']

[2] [This section is from the *Hist.*, pp. 25–6.]

END OF THE TENTH BOOK.

BOOK XI[1].

Even all nations shall say, Wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this land? what meaneth the heat of this great anger?—Deut. xxix. 24.
The Lord hath cast off his altar, he hath abhorred his sanctuary, he hath given up into the hand of the enemy the walls of her palaces; they have made a noise in the house of the Lord, as in the day of a solemn feast.—Lam. ii. 7.

If a universal discontent and murmuring of the three nations, 1648
and almost as general a detestation both of Parliament and army, and a most passionate desire that all their follies and madness might be forgotten in restoring the King to all they had taken from him, and in the settling that blessed government they had deprived themselves of, could have contributed to his majesty's recovery, never people were better disposed to erect and repair again the building they had so maliciously thrown and pulled down. In[2] England there was a general discontent amongst all sorts of men. Many officers and soldiers who had served the Parliament from the beginning of the war, and given too great testimonies of their courage and fidelity, and had been disbanded upon the new model, looked upon the present army with contempt, and as those who reaped the harvest and reward of their labours, and spake of them and against them in all places accordingly. The nobility and gentry who had advanced the credit and reputation of the Parliament by concurring with it against the King found themselves totally neglected, and the most inferior people preferred to all places of trust and profit. The Presbyterian ministers talked very loud, and their party appeared to be very numerous; and the expectation of an attempt from Scotland, and the importunity and clamour from Ireland for supplies of men and money against the Irish, who grew powerful, raised the courage of all discontented persons to meet and confer together, and all to inveigh against the army

[1] [*Hist.*, p. 1.] [2] [*Life*, p. 338.]

1648 and the officers who had corrupted it. The Parliament bore no reproach so concernedly as that of the want of supplies to Ireland, and that having so great an army without an enemy they[1] would not spare any part of it to preserve that kingdom. And this argument made a new warmth in the House of Commons; they who had been silent, and given over insisting upon the insolence and presumption of the army which had prevailed and crushed them, took now new spirit, and pressed the relief of Ireland with great earnestness, and in order thereunto made great inquisition into the expenses of the money, and how such vast sums received had been disbursed; which was a large field, and led them to many men's doors upon whom they were willing to be revenged.

2. There was a design this way to get the Presbyterians again into power, and that they might get the command of an army for the subduing the rebels in Ireland. Cromwell had, for the quieting the clamours from thence, sent the lord Lysle, eldest
1646 son to the lord of Leicester, under the title of Lord Lieutenant
Jan. 21[2]. of that kingdom, thither, with a commission for five or six months. And he had landed in Munster, either out of the jealousy they had of the lord Inchiquin, or because the best part of their army of English were under his command in that province. But that expedition gave the English no relief, nor weakened the power or strength of the Irish, but rather increased their reputation by the faction and bitterness that was between the Lieutenant and the President, who writ letters of complaint one against the other to the Parliament, where they had, both, parties which adhered to them. So that the time of his commission being expired, and the contrary party not suffer-
1647 ing it to be renewed, the lord Lysle returned again into England,
May. leaving the lord Inchiquin, whom he meant to have destroyed, in the entire possession of the command, and in greater reputation than he was before. And, in truth, he had preserved both with wonderful dexterity, expecting every day the arrival of the marquis of Ormonde, and every day informing the Parliament of the ill condition he was in, and pressing for a supply of men and money, when he knew they would send neither.

[1] ['that they,' MS.] [2] [*Commons' Journals*, IV. 413.]

3. Upon the return of the lord Lysle the Presbyterians re- 1648
newed their design, and caused sir William Waller to be named for Deputy or Lieutenant of Ireland, the rather (over and above his merit, and the experience they had had of his service) because he could quickly draw together those officers and soldiers which had served under him, and were now disbanded, and would willingly again engage under their old general. At the first Cromwell did not oppose this motion, but consented to it, being very willing to be rid both of Waller and all the officers who were willing to go with him, who he knew were not his friends, and watched an opportunity to be even with him. But when he saw Waller insist upon great supplies to carry with him, as he had reason to do, and when he considered of what consequence it might be to him and all his designs if a well formed and disciplined army should be under the power of him and such officers, he changed his mind; and first set his instruments to cross such a supply of men and money as he had proposed; the one, as more than was necessary for the service, and the other, as more than they could spare from their other occasions: and when this check was put to Waller's engagement, he caused Lambert to be proposed for that expedition, a man who was then fast to the same interest he embraced, and who had gotten a great name in the army. He formalized so long upon it, that Ireland remained still unsupplied, and affairs there seemed to be in a very ill condition.

4[1]. The Scots made so much noise of their purposes, even before their commissioners left London, and gave such constant advertisements of the impatience of their countrymen to be in arms for the King, though they made no haste in providing for such an expedition, that both the Presbyterians, who were their chief correspondents, and the royal party, bethought themselves how they might be ready; the one, that they might redeem themselves from their former guilt, and the other, that they might not only have a good part in freeing the King from his imprisonment, but be able to preserve him in liberty from any Presbyterian impositions, which they still apprehended the

[1] [*Hist.*, p. 1.]

1648 Scots might endeavour to impose, though they had no suspicion of the engagement at the Isle of Wight.

5[1]. The earl of Holland, who had done twice very notoriously amiss, and had been since his return from Oxford notably despised by all persons of credit in the Parliament and the army, had a mind to redeem his former faults by a new and through engagement. He had much credit by descent and by alliance with the Presbyterian party, and was privy to the undertakings of Scotland, and had constant intelligence of the advance that was made there. His brother, the earl of Warwick, had undergone some mortification with the rest, and had not that authority in the naval affairs as he had used to have, though he was the High Admiral of England by ordinance of Parliament, and had done them extraordinary services. He did not restrain or endeavour to suppress the earl of Holland's discontents, but inflamed them, and promised to join with him, as many other of that gang of men did; resolving that the Scots should not do all that work, but that they would have a share in the merit. The duke of Buckingham and his brother, the lord Francis Villyers, were newly returned from travel, and, though both under years, were strong and active young men, and being, in respect of their infancy, unengaged in the late war, and so unhurt by it, and come now to the possession of large estates, which they thought they were obliged to venture for the Crown upon the first opportunity, they fell easily into the friendship of the earl of Holland, and were ready to embark themselves in his adventure. The earl had made tender of his resolutions to his old mistress the Queen at Paris, who was always disposed to trust him, and the lord Jermin and he renewed their former friendship, the warmth whereof had never been extinguished. And a commission was sent from the Prince to the earl to be general of an army that was to be raised for the redemption of the King from prison, and to restore the Parliament to its freedom.

6. The earl of Peterborough and John Mordant his brother, the family of the earl of Northampton, and all the officers who

[1] [*Life*, p. 339.]

had served the King in the war, with which the city of London 1648
and all parts of the kingdom abounded, applied themselves to the earl of Holland, and received commissions from him for several commands. And this engagement was so well known, and so generally spoken of, that they concluded that the Parliament durst not take notice of it, or wished well to it.

7. And there is no question, never undertaking of such a nature was carried on with so little reservation; there was scarce a county in England in which there was not some association entered into to appear in arms for the King. They who had the principal command in Wales under the Parliament sent to Paris to declare that if they might have supply of arms and ammunition, and a reasonable sum of money for the payment of their garrisons, they would declare for the King, having the chief places of those parts in their custody. The lord Jermin encouraged all those overtures with the most positive undertaking that they should be supplied with all they expected within so many days after they should declare: which they depended upon, and he, according to his custom, never thought of after; by which the service miscarried, and many gallant men were lost.

8. Cromwell, to whom all these machinations were known, chose rather to run the hazard of all that such a loose combination could produce than, by seizing upon persons, to engage the Parliament in examinations and in parties, the inconvenience whereof he apprehended more; finding already that the Presbyterian party had so great an influence upon the general, that he declared to him that he would not march against the Scots, whom he [Cromwell] had a good mind to have visited before the counsels and resolutions were formed; and he had reason to believe that he [Fairfax] would be firm to the same mind, even after they should have invaded the kingdom.

9[1]. All things being in this forwardness in England, it is fit to inquire how the Scots complied with their obligations, and what expedition they used in raising their army. After the commissioners' return from London, upon the King's being made

[1] [*Life*, p. 353.]

1648 prisoner in the Isle of Wight, it was long before the marquis of Arguyle could be prevailed with to consent that a Parliament should be called. He had made a fast friendship with Cromwell and Vane, and knew that in this new stipulation with the King the Hambletonian faction was the great undertaker, and meant to have all the honour of whatsoever should follow. And yet the duke lived very privately at his own house, had never seen the King, nor went abroad to any meeting after his return to Scotland; and to those who came to him, and to whom that resolution would be grateful, he used to speak darkly, and as a man that thought more of revenge upon those who had imprisoned him than of assisting the Crown to recover the authority it had lost. Arguyle, whose power was over that violent party of the clergy which would not depart from the most rigid clause in the Covenant, and were without any reverence for the King or the monarchical government, discerned that he should never be able to hinder the calling of a Parliament, which the people generally called for, and that he should sooner obtain his end by puzzling their proceedings and obstructing their determinations after they should be assembled, than by obstinately opposing their coming together. And so summons issued for the convention of a Parliament; and they who appeared most concerned for the King, and to set him at liberty from his imprisonment, (which was all they pretended,) were the earl of Lanricke, brother to the duke Hambleton, and then restored to his office of Secretary of Scotland, who had been imprisoned at Oxford, and made his escape from thence, and the earl of Latherdale, who had been with the forwardest from the beginning of the rebellion, when he was scarce of age, and prosecuted it to the end with most eminent fierceness and animosity.

10. They were both men of great parts and industry, though they loved pleasures too; both proud and ambitious; the former, much the civiller and better bred, of the better nature and better judgment, and an openness and clearness more to be trusted and relied upon than most men of that nation: the latter, insolent, imperious, flattering, and dissembling, fitter for intrigues and contrivances by the want of the ingenuity which the other had,

and by the experience and practice he had in the committee of both kingdoms in their darkest designs. The former was a man of honour and courage; the latter had courage enough not to fail where it was absolutely necessary, and no impediment of honour to restrain him from doing any thing that might gratify any of his passions. 1648

11. These were the chief managers and contrivers to carry on this affair; for though the Chancellor, the earl of Lowden, had been a commissioner in England, and as privy to the treaty with the King, and had made as many professions and protestations of duty to him as they, and indeed was willing to perform them, yet he was so obnoxious for his loose and vicious life, which was notorious, that he durst not provoke Arguyle or the clergy by dissenting from them. They used all the interest and skill they had, to get such elections in the boroughs of members for the Parliament as might comply with them; and the people generally were exceedingly offended, and ashamed of the infamous delivery up of the King to the English, to which they imputed all the danger that threatened them, and the reproach and infamy that lay upon their country; and so had great prejudice to all men who were thought to be the cause of it.

12. At the opening of the Parliament, they did all they could to inflame the people against the army in England, which they said had forced the Parliament to break the treaty between the two kingdoms in their ill usage of the King, who was imprisoned by the army, nor was it in the power of the Parliament to set him at liberty: that they had now, upon the matter, absolutely deposed him, by not suffering him to perform the office of a king, nor permitting any of his subjects to repair to him; in which the kingdom of Scotland was concerned, in that, being independent upon England and the Parliament of England, they were by them deprived of their King, and could not be admitted to speak with him, nor his majesty to send to them; which was such a presumption, and violation of the law of nations, and such a perfidious breach and contempt of the Solemn League and Covenant and of the treaty between the two kingdoms, that they were bound by all the obligations human and divine to be March 2.

1648 sensible of it, and to redeem their King's liberty and their own honour with the hazard of their lives and fortunes and all that was dear to them: and therefore they desired that they might enter upon those counsels which might soonest get an army together, which should no sooner enter England but it would find a conjunction from that whole kingdom, except only the army; and that it would then quickly appear that the Parliaments of both kingdoms desired the same thing, and to live happily under the government of the same King.

13. This discourse, urged and seconded by many of the principal men, was entertained by the rest with so general a reception that Arguyle found it would be to no purpose directly to contradict or oppose it. He saw the election of their knights and burgesses had succeeded according to their wishes, and that they would concur with whatsoever was proposed; and he found likewise that they had wrought upon the greatest part of the clergy, who believed all they said to them. He did not therefore oppose any thing proposed by them, but only desired that they would very well weigh the manner of their proceeding in an affair of so great concernment, which was like to terminate in a bloody war between the two kingdoms, which had hitherto proceeded as brethren, and had both reaped great benefit and advantage from the conjunction: and he hoped there was no purpose to shake any of those foundations which had been laid in the years by-gone, and which supported that government which made that kingdom happy; which if dissolved, all the mischieve and tyranny which they had formerly felt and undergone would break in upon them with a torrent that should destroy them. Every body declared that there was no purpose to swerve in the least degree from what was established for the government in either kingdom by their Solemn League and Covenant, which they had in perfect veneration, and looked upon it as an obligation upon them to do all that had been proposed; upon which Arguyle acquiesced as satisfied, not doubting but that, in the prosecution of their counsels, he should find opportunity enough to obstruct the quick progress, and to interrupt the conclusion and execution.

14. The lords who had been in England, and frequented 1648
Hampton Court whilst the King was there, to make themselves the more gracious had treated all the King's party with all manner of caresses, and more particularly had much applied themselves to those gentlemen of the north who had most eminently served the King, and who had good fortunes there to support their interest. Of this kind there were two very notable men, sir Marmaduke Langdale and sir Philip Musgrave; both men of large and plentiful estates, the one in Yorkshire, the other in Cumberland and Westmoreland; who having been in the time of peace eminent in their country in the offices of justices of peace and deputy lieutenants, had in the beginning of the war engaged themselves in commands in the King's army, with great reputation of stout, diligent, and active officers; and continued to the end, and had not after applied themselves to make any composition, but expected a new opportunity to appear with their swords in their hands. And they were both looked upon by the Parliament and the chief officers of the army with most jealousy, as men worthy to be apprehended, and who could never be induced to comply with them. The Scottish lords were not scrupulous to let these two gentlemen know what they intended, and that they made no question but that they should engage their whole kingdom and nation to enter into a present war with England on the King's behalf; and therefore desired them, by the interest and influence they had upon the northern counties, to dispose them to a conjunction with them. And because they knew that they two were too notorious to stay with any security about London, much less in their own country, they invited them into Scotland, where they assured them they should not only be safe but very welcome, and should be witnesses of their proceedings, and have parts of their own to act in as soon as the season should be ripe.

15. These gentlemen, though they had hitherto been unhurt, and whilst the army made those professions towards the King had been much courted by the chief officers thereof, and had been quartered with them as friends, knew well, now the mask was off, that if they did not immediately apply themselves to

1648 make their composition they should be apprehended and imprisoned. And therefore, being confident that the Scots would engage for the King, they accepted their invitation, and told them they should quickly find them in Scotland after their own return. And accordingly, after having secretly spent some time in their own counties, and directed their friends to be in a readiness when they should be called upon, and in the mean time settled a way how to correspond together, they went into Scotland to those who had invited them, and were received by them with civility enough. And they owned such a wariness in respect of the jealousies amongst them[selves] and the ill arts of Arguyle, that they desired them for some time to withdraw to some place, which they recommended to them, and there to remain in secret, and under feigned names, until the calling of the Parliament; at which time they might come to Edinborough, and appear in their own likeness with all freedom. And so, after having remained in that private manner, where they were well treated, for some months, when the Parliament was assembled at Edinborough, they returned thither, and were very well looked upon by all that knew them; which made them behave themselves with the more freedom and confidence in their conversation, the lords telling them all they meant to do, and what arts they were to use till they could get their army up, towards which they believed they had mastered the greatest difficulties.

16[1]. Though the Scots' commissioners had withdrawn from London shortly after they had protested loudly against the proceedings of the Parliament, both in imprisoning the King and in refusing to give them leave to repair to him, or to receive from him any directions or orders concerning the government of that kingdom, and thought it high time to provide for their own security by quitting their station at London, where they received every day affronts, and their persons were exposed to contempt; yet there were no sooner preparations towards a Parliament in Scotland, than commissioners were
Jan. 27. sent from the Lords and Commons at Westminster to reside at

[1] [*Hist.*, p. 1.]

Edinborough, as if they hoped to over-vote them there too; 1648
and it was evident quickly that they were not without a strong, or at least an active, party there. They were received with the same show of respect, and the same care was taken for their accommodation, as had been when they first came for the contriving of the Covenant; not only the marquis of Arguyle and his party very diligently visited them, and performed all offices of respect towards them, but even the Hambletonian faction, and they who were most solicitous to raise the war, attended them as officiously as other, and made the same professions to preserve peace and amity between the two nations.

17. That rigid party of the clergy which so adored the Covenant, in the strictest sense of the letter, that they did not desire to have any more dependence upon the King, but to lay him aside and to settle the government without him, as their brethren in England had resolved to do, were never from them, and willingly received such presents and pensions from the English commissioners as they were prepared and provided to offer to them; and much money was given to make them fast friends. By this means nothing was resolved or proposed in the most secret councils that was not forthwith imparted and made known to them; and they behaved themselves as haughtily and imperiously as if they had their army at hand to second them.

18. They took notice of the resort of so many to Edinborough, and that there were many amongst them who had been in arms against the Parliament, and demanded that they might either be banished that kingdom, or delivered to them to be sent to the Parliament. And they were so clamorous in this argument, and found so much countenance to their clamour, that they who had invited them [the royalists] thither, had not the courage to own them, but advised them underhand to absent themselves from the town till that storm should be over. And even sir Marmaduke Langdale and sir Philip Musgrave, whom, over and above all the discourses held with them at London, they [the Scottish commissioners] had sent [for] to confer with them as they passed through the northern parts homewards, and had then conferred with them, and desired them to prepare all things

1648 with their friends for the surprisal of Barwick and Carlisle when the season should be ripe, and that they would hasten their journey into Scotland that they might be out of danger of imprisonment; even these men were desired, either to withdraw again from Edinborough, or to keep their chambers there, and not be seen abroad, until their army should be raised, and such a general made choice of as would take care of their protection. And [they] did not conceal from them that they made no doubt but that duke Hambleton should be that general; who often conferred with them in private, and always assured them that, whatever was, in that place and season, discoursed of the Covenant, which was very necessary to bring their designs to pass, he[1] would be no sooner invested in the command his friends designed for him, than he would manifest his resolution to join with the King's party upon the true interest of the Crown, without which he could hope for little success in England: and he desired them, though they saw little appearance yet of raising an army, which would be as soon finished as begun by the method they were accustomed to use, that they would write very earnestly to their friends in England to begin as soon as might be to execute the designs they had laid, in as many parts of the kingdom as they could, upon confidence that they should receive relief before they should be oppressed. And to the same purpose they writ to the Queen, and desired that the Prince might be in a readiness to be with them against the time their army should be ready to march; which they assured her should be by the beginning of May. All which several advertisements being communicated in England found a people too ready to give credit to what was promised, and to begin the work sooner than they ought to have done; and yet they were hastened by such accidents as, in truth, made their appearance even necessary.

19[2]. The King, whilst he was at Hampton Court, and when he foresaw that the army would not comply with him, as he had once believed, and resolved to get himself out of their hands, had, as is mentioned before[3], directed the duke of York,

[1] ['that he,' MS.] [2] [*Life*, p. 341.] [3] [Book x, § 116.]

who was of years to be trusted with the secret, that, when a 1648
fit opportunity should be offered, he[1] should make his escape into the parts beyond the seas, and follow the directions of his mother: and about this time, when so much action was expected, which probably might produce many alterations in all places, his majesty found some way to advertise the duke that it would be a very proper season for him to make his escape. The person who was intrusted to contrive it was colonel Bampfeild, a man of an active and insinuating nature, and dexterous enough in bringing any thing to pass that he had the managing of himself. He had no relation to the King's service; and though he had served the King in the late war as a colonel of foot, he had not behaved himself so well in it as to draw any suspicion upon himself from the other party, and was in truth much more conversant with the Presbyterian party than with the King's. So that his repair often to the place where the duke of York and the other children were, drew nothing of suspicion upon him.

20. The duke and his brother and sister were then kept at St. James', where they had the liberty of the garden and park to walk and exercise themselves in, and lords and ladies and other persons of condition were not restrained from resorting thither to visit them. In this manner Bampfeild had been sometimes there; and after he had informed the duke what he was to do, and found one or two more to be trusted between them, that he might not become suspected by being observed to speak too often with him, he provided a small vessel to be ready about the Custom-house, and to have its pass for Holland, and then advertised the duke to be ready in the close of an evening, when, playing, as he used to do, with the other children in a room from whence there was a pair of stairs to the garden, he might, untaken notice of, get thither; from whence there was a door into the park, where Bampfeild would meet him. And this was so well adjusted, that the duke came at the hour to Apr. 21.
the place; where the other met him, and led him presently where a coach was ready, and so carried him into a private

[1] ['that he,' MS.]

1648 house, where he only stayed whilst he put on woman's apparel that was provided for him, and presently, with colonel Bampfeild only, went into a pair of oars that was ready; and so passed the bridge, and went on board the vessel that was ready to receive him, which immediately hoised sail, and arrived safe Apr. 23. in Holland, without any man of the ship having the least imagination what freight they carried.

21. The duke, as soon as he was on shore, and in a lodging, resolving no longer to use his woman's habit, stayed there till he advertised his sister, the Princess Royal of Orange[1], of his arrival, who quickly took care to provide all such things as were necessary for his remove to the Hague; from whence the Queen was informed, and so knew as soon almost where he was as she did of his escape from London. The Prince was not yet ready for his remove, nor was it resolved which way he should go; so that it was thought best that the duke should for the present stay at the Hague with his sister till farther resolutions might be taken; and though the service which Bampfeild had performed was very well esteemed, yet they thought the making him a groom of his bedchamber would be an ample recompense, and that it was necessary to put a person of a better quality about his highness, who might have a superior command over the other servants; and because the lord Byron, who had been made governor of the duke of York by the King, was then in England, secretly attending the conjuncture to appear in arms in a quarter assigned to him, sir John Berkely was sent by the Queen to wait upon the duke as governor in the absence of the lord Byron; which Bampfeild looked upon as a degradation, and bringing the man he hated of all men living to have the command over him.

22[2]. The lord Capell, who was in the most secret part of all these intrigues in England, being entirely trusted by those who would not trust any of the Presbyterians nor communicate their purposes to them, had written to the Chancellor [of the Exchequer,] who remained still in Jarsy, the hopes he had of a good conjuncture, and his own resolution to embark himself in

[1] [So spelled in this place in the MS.] [2] [*Life*, p 340.]

the attempt as soon as it should be ripe; and had signified the 1648
King's command to him, that as soon as he [the Chancellor] should be required to wait upon the Prince he should without delay obey the summons: and the King had likewise[1] writ to the Queen very positively, that when it should be necessary for the Prince to remove out of France, the Chancellor should have notice of it, and be required to give his attendance upon the person of his royal highness in the condition he had formerly done[2]. And about the beginning of May, in the year 1648, the lord Capell, who had always corresponded with him, and informed him of the state of affairs, and all that concerned himself, writ to him that all things were now so ripe that he believed the Prince would not find it fit to remain longer in France; and thereupon conjured him that he would be ready, if he should be sent for, as he was confident he would, to attend upon his highness; which, he said, all the King's friends expected he should do, and which he was resolved to do, as soon as he [the Prince] should be out of France, though he should receive no order or invitation so to do.

23. About the middle of May[3] the Queen, according to his majesty's command, sent to the Chancellor to Jarsy, commanding that he would wait upon the Prince in the Lou[v]re at Paris, upon a day that was past before the letter came to his hands[4]. But he no sooner received the summons, than he

[1] [The lines 'had written to the Chancellor—King had likewise,' are substituted in the MS. for the following:—'when he was with the King at Hampton Court had fully informed his majesty of all that had been transacted at Jarsy, and of the Queen's unjust displeasure against the Chancellor, and had advised the King that he would take care that when the opportunity fell out, which they expected upon several accounts, that it would be fit for the Prince to appear and engage himself in action, the Chancellor might be sent to and required to attend his highness, saying all things to the Chancellor's advantage which his friendship prompted him to; and the King so willingly concurred with him that he writ to the Queen,' &c.; *ut supra.*]

[2] [The following words are here struck out:—'not without some blaming the Queen for entertaining any prejudice against him.']

[3] [Altered from 'the beginning of June.']

[4] [The following words are here struck out:—'nor was there indeed any desire that he should be where the Prince [was], who was thought to have too good an opinion of him.']

1648 betook himself to the journey[1], and to transport himself into Normandy: where, after he was landed, he made what haste he could to Caen, supposing he should there find Secretary Nicholas, who had given him notice that he had received the same command[2]. When he came to Caen, he found the Secretary's lady there[3], but himself was gone to Rowen, to the lord Cottington, and intended to stay there till the other should arrive, and to consult together there upon their farther journey. The old earl of Bristol, who had lived likewise at Caen, was gone with the Secretary to Rowen, having likewise received the same summons with the other to attend the Prince at the Lou[v]re. The Chancellor hastened to Rowen, where he found the lord Cottington, who held still the office and precedence of Lord High Treasurer of England, the earl of Bristol, and Secretary Nicholas, who were all his very good friends, and very glad of his arrival. They had received advertisement the day before that the Prince, with all his small train, was passed by towards Calice; and direction was sent that the Chancellor, whom they supposed to be on the way, should stay at Rowen till they should receive new orders from Calice, where his royal highness would take new measures what he was to do. So they stayed together at Rowen, where there were at the same time very many English of quality in their own condition, who were driven out of England as well as they for their fidelity to the King, and had brought somewhat with them for their support abroad till they might upon some good change return to their own country. In the mean time they lived very decently together in that city, where they were well esteemed. The way between Rowen and Calice was so dangerous, without a very strong convoy, that no day passed without robberies and murders, so that they were glad of their order not to stir from thence till they should receive a very particular direction from

[1] [The following words are here struck out:—'being kindly assisted by his friend sir George Carterett with whatsoever he stood in need of, and with a vessel.']

[2] [The following words are here struck out:—'though everybody knew his presence was no more desired than the Chancellor's.']

[3] ['who treated him very kindly:' *struck out.*]

the Prince; and within few days they received advice that the 1648
Prince had, as soon as he came to Calice, put himself on board a ship that he found there, and was bound for Holland, from whence they were to hear from him how they should dispose of themselves. Whereupon they all resolved to remove from Rowen to Deepe, from whence they might embark themselves for Holland if they saw cause; and the ways by land, in regard that both the French and the Spanish armies were in the field, were very dangerous[1].

24. The Prince's remove from Paris on such a sudden proceeded from an accident in England that was very extraordinary, and looked like a call from Heaven. The Parliament had prepared, according to custom, a good fleet of ten or a dozen ships for the summer guard, and appointed Raynsborough (who had been bred at sea, and was the son of an eminent commander at sea lately dead, but he himself, from the time of the new model, had been an officer of foot in the army, and was a colonel of special note and account, and of Cromwell's chief confidents) to be admiral thereof[2]; which offended the earl of Warwick much, and disposed him to that concurrence with his brother. And captain Batten was as much unsatisfied, who had acted so great a part in the first alienating the fleet and the affections of the seamen from the King, and had ever been their vice-admiral afterwards, and the person upon whom they principally relied at sea, and Raynsborough, as long as he remained in the navy, had been under his command. And both the earl and he well knew that this man was now made admiral of this fleet because they, being Presbyterians, should have no credit or influence upon it; which made them solicitous enough that the seamen should not be well pleased with the alteration,

[1] [The following lines are here struck out:—'The night before they were to leave Rowen, the Secretary received notice by an express from Caen that his wife was at the point of death, whereupon he was obliged to return to Caen, and the lord Cottington, the earl of Bristol, and the Chancellor, set forward the next day for Deepe.']

[2] [Appointed to the command of the winter guard by the Commons Sept. 27, and confirmed by the Lords Oct. 2, 1647. He continued in command in the following summer.]

1648 and they looked upon Raynsborough as a man that had forsaken them, and preferred the land before the sea service. The seamen are a nation by themselves, a humorous and fantastic people; fierce, and rude, and resolute, in whatsoever they resolve or are inclined to, but unsteady and inconstant in pursuing it, and jealous of those to-morrow by whom they are governed this day. These men, observing the general discontent of the people, and that, however the Parliament was obeyed by the power of the army, both army and Parliament were grown very odious to them, and hearing so much discourse of an army from Scotland ready to enter into the kingdom, they concluded that the King would be restored; and then remembering that the revolt of the fleet was the preamble to the loss of his majesty's authority every where else, and the cause of all his misfortunes, they imagined it would be a glorious thing to them if they could lead the way to his majesty's restoration by their declaring for him. And this was an agitation among the common seamen, without communicating it to any officer of the quality of master of a ship. This inclination was much improved in them by a general disposition in Kent to an insurrection for the King, and by some gentlemen's coming on board the ships, according to the custom of that country, who fomented the good disposition in the seamen by all the ways they could.

25[1]. At this very time there appeared general throughout Kent the same indigested affection to the King, and inclination to serve him, as was among the seamen, and was conducted with much less order and caution, neither the one or the other having been designed by those who did take care of the King's affairs, and who did design those insurrections which happened in other parts of the kingdom. They knew nothing, that is, contributed nothing to the distemper amongst the seamen, though they were not without some hope that, upon other revolutions, somewhat might likewise fall out at sea to the advantage of the King's affairs. They had an expectation from Kent, where they knew the people were generally well affected,

[1] [*Life*, p. 347.]

and depended upon two or three gentlemen of that country who 1648
had been officers in the King's army, and resolved to bring in some troops of horse when the occasion should be ripe; but it was resolved that the Scots' army should be entered the kingdom, by which the Parliament army would be upon their march towards them, before they would have any appearance of force in the parts near London; and then they believed that both country and city would rise together. And so those gentlemen of Kent who were privy to any design lay privately in London, to avoid all cabals in their country; so that what fell out there was by mere chance and accident, that could neither be foreseen or prevented.

26. There happened to be at some jovial meeting in Kent about that time one Mr. L'Estrange, a younger brother of a good family in Norfolk[1], who had been always of the King's party, and for attempting somewhat in his own country for his majesty's service had been taken prisoner by the Parliament, 1644
and by a court of war condemned to die, but being kept in Dec.
prison till the end of the war, was then set at liberty, as one in whom there was no more danger. But he retained his old affections, and more remembered the cruel usage he had received than that they had not proceeded as cruelly with him as they might have done. He had a great friendship with a young gentleman, Mr. Hales, who lived in Kent, and was married to a lady of a noble birth and fortune, he being heir to the greatest fortune of that country, but was to expect the inheritance from the favour of an old severe grandfather, who for the present kept the young couple from running into any excess, the mother of the lady being of as sour and strict a nature as the grandfather, and both of them so much of the Parliament party that they were not willing that any part of their estates should be hazarded for the King. At the house of this Mr. Hales, Mr. L'Estrange was, when, by the communication which that country always hath with the ships which lie in the Downs, the report first did arise that the fleet would presently declare for the King, and those seamen who came on shore talked as if the

[1] [Altered from 'Suffolk.']

1648 city of London would join with them. This drew many gentlemen of the country, who wished well, to visit the ships, and they returned more confirmed of the truth of what they had heard. Good-fellowship was a vice generally spread over that country, and this young great heir, who had been always bred amongst his neighbours, affected that which they were best pleased with, and so his house was a rendezvous for those who delighted in that exercise, and who every day brought him the news of the good inclinations in the fleet for the King; and all men's mouths were full of the general hatred the whole kingdom had against the Parliament as well as the army. Mr. L'Estrange was a man of a good wit, and a fancy very luxuriant, and of an enterprising nature, and observed, by the good company that came to the house, that the affections of all that large and populous country were for the King. He began to tell Mr. Hales, that though his grandfather did in his heart wish the King well, yet his carriage had been such in his conjunction with the Parliament that he [Hales] had more need of the King's favour than of his grandfather's to be heir to that great estate; and that certainly nothing could be more acceptable to his grandfather, or more glorious to him, than to be the instrument of both; and therefore advised him to put himself into the head of his own country, which would be willing to be led by him; that when the Scots were entered into the northern parts, and all the kingdom should be in arms, he might, with the body of his countrymen, march towards London; which would induce both the city and the Parliament to join with him, whereby he should have the honour to restore the King.

27. The company that frequented the house thought the discourse very reasonable, and saw that the issue must be very honourable: the young lady of the house was full of zeal for the King, and was willing her husband should be the instrument of his delivery: and the young gentleman himself had not been enough conversant in affairs of the world as to apprehend the danger or hazard in the attempt, and so referred himself and the whole business to be governed and conducted by Mr. L'Estrange, whom they all believed by his discourse to be an

able soldier. He writes some letters to particular gentlemen, 1648
who he was informed would receive them willingly, and signed warrants to the constables of hundreds with his own name, which had been never heard of in the country, requiring in his majesty's name all persons to appear, at a time and place appointed, to advise together, and to lay hold on such opportunities as should be offered for relieving the King and delivering him out of prison. There was an incredible appearance of the country at the place appointed, where Mr. L'Estrange appeared with Mr. Hales, and those persons who had been used to their company. Mr. L'Estrange spake to them in a style very much his own, and being not very clear to be understood the more prevailed over them. He spake like a man in authority, inveighed against the tyranny of the army, which subdued the Parliament, of their barbarous imprisonment of the King, and of a conspiracy they had to murder him; that the affections of that noble country were well known to his majesty, and that he had therefore appointed the fleet that was in the Downs to join with them; and that he doubted not but they would together be too strong for his enemies, who were like to have enough to do to defend themselves in many other places; and that his majesty was willing that they should have a gentleman of their own country, well known to them, to be their general; and named Mr. Hales, who was present. There was not one man who so much asked for any letter or commission, or other authority from the King; but very frankly and unanimously declared that they would be all ready to join, and march as their general Hales should direct; and so another day and place was appointed for another appearance, and listing and forming their regiments; and in the mean time Mr. L'Estrange set out such declarations and engagements as he thought most like to prevail with the people, and required that they should be read in all churches; which was done accordingly. And the next appearance was greater than the former, and with the same courage, many coming armed both horse and foot, and shewing a marvellous alacrity to the engagement. Their general then gave out his commissions for several regi-

1648 ments, and a new day [was] appointed for their rendezvous, when all should come armed, and keep together in a body, until it should be fit to march to London.

28. It was known that the fleet was gone out of the Downs, but it was as well known that it had absolutely renounced the service of the Parliament, and rejected all their officers. And it was easy to persuade the people that they were gone upon some important enterprise, and would speedily return; and it was insinuated, that it was gone to the Isle of Wight to release the King, who would return with it into Kent; which made them hasten their preparations.

29[1]. When the King made the earl of Northumberland admiral, he declared, and it was inserted in his commission, that he should enjoy that office during the minority of the duke of York; and the duke having made his escape at this time, when there was this commotion amongst the seamen, it was no sooner known that his highness was in Holland, but the seamen talked aloud that they would go to their admiral; and the gentlemen of Kent stirring them up and inflaming them to that resolution, and the seamen again pressing the gentlemen to hasten their rising in arms, that they might assist and second each other, they both declared themselves sooner than they ought to have done, and before they were prepared for an enterprise of that importance.

30. The Parliament was well informed of the distemper amongst the seamen, and had therefore forborn putting the half of the provisions aboard the ships, which, for the greatest part, lay ready in the Downs, wanting only half the victual they were to have for the summer service. But those officers which were on board, finding they had no authority, and that the seamen mocked and laughed at them, sent every day to inform the Parliament what[1] mutinous humour the whole fleet was in. Whereupon they sent Raynsborough and some other officers thither, presuming that the presence of the admiral would quickly quiet all. And he being a man of a rough imperious nature, as soon as he came on board his ship, began to make

[1] [*Life*, p. 342.] [2] ['in what,' MS.]

a strict inquiry into the former disorders and mutinous be- 1648
haviour, upon which all the men of his ship retired into their
old fortress of *One and All*, and presently laid hold on him, May 27.
and put him, and such other officers of the ship whom they
liked not, into the boat, and sent them on shore. Which was
no sooner known to the rest of the ships, but they followed
their example, and used their officers in the same manner.
And after they had for some days been feasted and caressed by
the people of Kent, some of the gentlemen putting themselves
on board to join with them and in order to assist them towards
providing such necessaries as were wanting, they went out of
the Downs, and stood for Holland, that they might find their
admiral, and let fall their anchors before the Brill. What
was done by the gentlemen of Kent on shore, and the success
thereof, will be related hereafter.

31. This so very seasonable revolt of the fleet, in a conjuncture when so many advantages were expected, was looked upon as a sure omen of the deliverance of the King. And [upon] the report that the ships were before Calice, as if they had expected somebody there, which was true for some time, it was thought fit that the Prince (who had hitherto thought of nothing but being sent for by the Scots, and how to find himself with them) should make all possible haste to Calice. And this was the cause of that his sudden motion, which was yet retarded for want of money and all other things necessary for his journey. The cardinal shewed no manner of favouring all these appearances of advantage to the King; he gave less countenance to Scotland than he had ever done when it was in rebellion against the King; [and,] notwithstanding all his promises with reference to Ireland, the marquis of Ormonde remained still at Paris, without obtaining arms or money in any proportion, both which he had promised so liberally, and was, after all importunities, compelled to transport himself into Ireland (where he was so importunately called for) without any manner of supplies which were expected. And now, when the remove of the Prince was so behoofful, he [the cardinal] utterly refused to furnish him with any money; all which discoun-

1648 tenances were shortly after remembered to Cromwell as high merit.

32. The Prince's remove was by every body thought so necessary, that the lord Jermin, as was pretended, found means to borrow so much money as was necessary for the journey, which the King paid long after with full interest; Dr. Goffe, a man well known in that time as the chief agent and confident of the lord Jermin, being presently sent into Holland, to dispose the seamen to be willing to receive the lord Jermin to command the fleet; so solicitous that nobleman was to be in the head of any action that was likely to prosper, how unfit soever he was for it, having neither industry, nor knowing any thing of the sea, and less beloved by the seamen than any man who could be
July 4. named. The Prince made what haste he could to Calice, attended by prince Rupert, the lord Hopton, and the lord Culpeper, and some other gentlemen, besides his own domestics; and finding one of the English frigates before Calice, and understanding that the duke of York was gone from the Hague to Helvorde Sluce, [Helvoetsluys], and had put himself on board the fleet there, his [highness[1]] presently embarked[2], and made the more haste lest his brother should be in action before him, and was received at the fleet with all those acclamations and noise of joy which that people are accustomed to, having expressed as much some days before at the arrival of the duke of York.

33. And as soon as it was known in Holland that the Prince of Wales was arrived, the Prince of Aurange, with his wife the Princess Royal, came presently thither to entertain his highness the best that place would permit, but especially to rejoice together, having not seen each other from the time they were children. The Prince found the fleet in faction and disorder, and great pains had been taken to corrupt them. Sir John Berkely's coming to the Hague to assume the government of the duke of York had not been acceptable to his royal highness;

[1] ['majesty,' MS.]

[2] [Probably on July $\frac{9}{19}$, a passport from him for Edgeman being dated at Calais on that day: *Calend. Clar. S. P.*, i. 431. In news-letters of the time it was said that he left Calais on Thursday, July 6.]

who was persuaded by colonel Bampfeild that he had been unfaithful as well as unfortunate in his attendance upon the King to the Isle of Wight. The colonel himself was so incensed with it, that he used all the skill and insinuation he had to lessen his highness's reverence to the Queen and to dispute her commands. Then, taking the opportunity of the fleet's being come to Helvorde Sluce, he went thither, and having, as is said before, a wonderful address to the disposing men to mutiny, and to work upon common men, which the fleet consisted of, the greatest officer among them being not above the quality of a boatswain[1] or master's mate, he persuaded them to declare for the duke of York, without any respect to the King or Prince; and when his highness should be on board they should not meddle in the quarrel between the King and the Parliament, but entirely join with the Presbyterian party and the city of London, which by this means would bring the Parliament to reason: and he prepared his friends the seamen when the duke should come to them, that they would except against sir John Berkely, and cause him to be dismissed; and then he believed he should be able to govern both his highness and the fleet. 1648

34. At the same time Dr. Goffe, who was a dexterous man too, and could comply with all men in all the acts of good-fellowship, had gotten acquaintance with others of the seamen, and made them jealous of Bampfeild's activity; and he endeavoured to persuade them that they should all petition the Prince, (who, he knew, would be shortly with them,) that the lord Jermin might be made their admiral; who would be able to supply them with money and whatsoever else they wanted: that there was no hope of money but from France, and that the lord Jermin had all the power and credit there, and might have what money he desired. And by these agitations the infant loyalty of the seamen began to be distracted.

35. At the same time the lord Willoughby of Parham, who had always adhered to the Presbyterians, and was of great esteem amongst them, though he was not tainted with their

[1] ['bosson,' MS.]

1648 principles, had left the Parliament, and secretly transported himself into Holland; and was arrived at Rotterdam when Bampfeild returned from the fleet, and went to wait upon the duke of York at the Hague. Bampfeild delivered such a message from the fleet as he thought would hasten the duke's journey thither, and told him the seamen made great inquiry after the lord Willoughby, and much longed to have him with them; insinuating to the duke that he had much contributed to that good disposition in the seamen, and was privy to their revolt, and had promised speedily to come to them, and that it would be the most acceptable thing his highness could do to carry him with him to the fleet, and to make him his vice-admiral. The duke made all imaginable haste to Helvorde Sluce, and immediately went on board the admiral, where he was received with the usual marks of joy and acclamation. He declared the lord Willoughby his vice-admiral, and appointed some other officers in the several ships, and seemed very desirous to be out at sea. In the mean time Bampfeild continued his activity; and the doctor, finding he had little hope to raise his patron to the height he proposed, did all he could to hinder the operation of Bampfeild, and took all the ways he could that the Prince might be advertised of it, and thereupon hasten his own journey; which did likewise contribute to the haste his highness made. And he arrived at Helvorde Sluce very seasonably to prevent many inconveniences which would have inevitably fallen out; and the seamen, upon his highness's appearance, returned again into their old cheerful humour, which the Prince knew would be best preserved by action, and therefore exceedingly desired to be at sea, where he was sure he must be superior to any force the Parliament could in a short time put out. But the fleet already wanted many provisions, of which beer was the chief; which, by the countenance and assistance of the Prince of Aurange, was in a short time procured in a reasonable proportion; and then the Prince set sail for the Downs, having sent his brother the duke of York, with all his family, to the Hague, to remain there. And though the duke was exceedingly troubled to leave the fleet, which he had been persuaded to look upon as

his province, yet he could not but acknowledge that right reason 1648
would not permit that they should both be ventured at one time on board the fleet; and, the Prince determining to engage his own person, he submitted to the determination, and was well content to remain with his sister.

36. The Prince did not think fit to remove the lord Willoughby (who he knew was much relied upon by the Presbyterian party) from the charge the duke had given him; though he had never been at sea, nor was at all known to the seamen. But captain Batten coming at the same time when his highness did to the fleet, and bringing the Constant Warwick, one of the best frigates the Parliament had built, with him, with Jordan and two or three seamen of good command, his highness knighted him, and made him rear-admiral of the fleet; believing that he could not do a more popular and acceptable thing to the seamen than by putting the same man who had commanded them so many years over them again at this time, whose experience and government would supply the defects and want of skill of the vice-admiral, who was very willing to be advised by him. But the Prince shortly after found he was mistaken in that expedient, and that the seamen, who desired to serve the King upon the clear principles of obedience and loyalty, did in no degree affect Batten, because he had failed in both, and was now of a party towards which they had no veneration. The truth is, the Prince came prepared and disposed from the Queen to depend wholly on the Presbyterian party, which, besides the power of the Scots' army, which was every day expected to invade England, was thought to be possessed of all the strength of the city of London; and the lord Culpeper, and Mr. Longe, who was the Prince's secretary, were trusted by the Queen to keep the Prince steady and fast to that dependence; and his highness [was] enjoined to be entirely advised by them, though all the other lords about him were of another mind, and the Prince himself not inclined that way; and Dr. Steward, the dean of the King's chapel, whom his majesty had recommended to his son to instruct him in all matters relating to the Church, and Dr. Earles, and the rest of his chaplains, waited diligently upon him to prevent those

1648 infusions. But by those two the benefit of this fleet was principally considered as a happy means to put the Prince on shore, that he might be in the head of the Scots' army; and no doubt if that army had been then entered into England, as it was very shortly after, the Prince would have been advised, with the fleet, to have followed all the advice which should have been sent from thence.

37. In the mean time it was thought most counsellable, after the Prince had sailed some days about the coast that the kingdom might generally know that his highness was there, that they should all go into the river of Thames, and lie still there; by which they expected two great advantages; first, that the city would be thereby engaged to declare itself, when they saw all their trade obstructed, and that their ships homewards bound, of which at that season of the year they expected many, must fall into the Prince's hands; and then, that the presence of the Prince in the river would hinder the Parliament from getting seamen, and from setting out that fleet which they were preparing to reduce the other, under the command of the earl of Warwick, whom they thought fit in this exigent again to employ; and he, by accepting the charge, thought he should be in a better posture to choose his party in any other alteration that should happen at land.

38[1]. When the Parliament first heard of this commotion in
§ 27. Kent, and saw the warrants which were sent out and signed by L'Estrange, whom nobody knew, (and the gentlemen of Kent who sat in the Parliament assured them that there was no such gentleman in that country, and sir Edward Hales, who likewise was present there, told them he was very confident that his grandson could not be embarked in such an affair,) they neglected it, and thought it a design to amuse them. But when they heard that the meetings were continued, and saw the declarations which were published, and were well assured that young Hales appeared with them as their general, they thought the matter worth their care; and therefore appointed their
May 29. general to send two or three troops of horse into Kent to sup-

[1] [*Life*, p. 348.]

press that seditious insurrection; sir Edward Hales now excusing 1648
himself with revilings, threats, and detestation of his grandson, who he protested should never be his heir.

39. The earl of Holland, who had a commission to be general, and the rest who were engaged, were not yet ready, the Scots being not yet entered, nor did they understand any thing of the business of Kent; however, when they were assured that they were drawn into a body, and were so strong that the officers who commanded the troops which had been sent to suppress them had sent to the Parliament word that they durst not advance, for that the enemy was much stronger than they and increased daily, and that they had sent a letter to the city of London inviting them to join with them, they thought it fit May 30.
to send them all the countenance and encouragement they could; and thereupon despatched those officers who had been designed for the troops of that country when the season should be ripe, and who had hitherto lurked privately in London to avoid suspicion. They were desired to call their friends together as soon as was possible to join with their neighbours, and [were told] that they should very shortly receive a general from the King: for they did not think Mr. Hales equal to the work: and he found his power and credit to grow less, the greater the appearance grew to be, and they began to inquire for the King's commission. The earl of Holland had formed his party of many officers who had served both the King and the Parliament, all which were in the city; and he had not yet a mind to call them together, but to expect the appearance of their northern friends; and therefore, consulting with the rest, and finding the earl of Norwich, (who had been some months in England under a pass from the Parliament, and upon pretence of making his composition, from which he had never been excluded,) willing to engage himself in the conduct of those in Kent, where he was well known and beloved, his affection and zeal for the King's service being not to be doubted, they resolved that he should go thither; and there being many blank commissions ready to be disposed as the service should require, they filled one with his name, by which the command of all Kent was committed to

1648 May 31. him, with power to lead them any whither, as the good of the King's service should make requisite. And with this commission he made haste into Kent, and found at Maydston such a body of horse and foot, armed better than could have been expected, as was enough in number to have met any army that was like to be brought against them. They all received him with wonderful acclamations, and vowed obedience unto him. Mr. Hales, upon the news of another general to be sent thither, and upon the storms of threats and rage, which fell upon him from his grandfather on the one side, and on his wife by her mother on the other side, and upon the conscience that he was not equal to the charge, though his affection was not in the least declined, found means to transport himself and his wife, together with his friend Mr. L'Estrange, who had lost his credit with the people, into Holland; resolving, as soon as he had put his wife out of the reach of her mother, to return himself, and to venture his person in the service which he could not conduct; which he did quickly after very heartily endeavour to do[1].

40[2]. The importunities from Scotland with the Presbyterians their correspondents, the fame of sir Marmaduke Langdale's being well received at Edenborough, and that many English officers and soldiers daily flocked thither, but especially the promises from Paris of supplies of arms, ammunition, and money, as soon as they could expect it, set all the other wheels going in England which had been prepared all the winter. There were in South Wales colonel Laughorne, colonel Powell, and colonel Poyer, who commanded those parts under the Parliament, which they had served from the beginning: the first of them a gentleman of a good extraction and a fair fortune in land in those countries, who had been bred a page under the earl of Essex when he had a command in the Low Countries, and continued his dependence upon him afterwards, and was

[1] [The lines, 'resolving . . . to do,' are substituted in the MS. for the following: 'and was returned himself, with Mr. Lestrange, to Flushing, to find an opportunity to be present with the Prince in the fleet, when the lord Cottington and the Chancellor waited there for a wind, and was disappointed of his passage as they were.']

[2] [*Hist.*, p. 2.]

much in his favour, and by that relation was first engaged 1648
in the rebellion, as many other gentlemen had been, without wishing ill to the King: the second was a gentleman too, but a soldier of fortune: the third had from a low trade raised himself in the war to the reputation of a very diligent and stout officer, and was at this time trusted by the Parliament with the government of the town and castle of Pembroke. These three communicated their discontents to each other, and all thought themselves ill requited by the Parliament for the service they had done, and that other men, especially colonel Mitton, [were][2] preferred before them; and resolved to take the opportunity of the Scots coming in, and to declare for the King upon the Presbyterian account. But Laughorne, who was not infected with any of those freaks, and doubted not to reduce the other two, when it should be time, to sober resolutions, would not engage till he first sent a confident to Paris to inform the Prince of what they determined, and of what their wants consisted, which if not relieved, they should not be able to pursue their purpose, desiring to receive orders for the time of their declaring, and assurance that they should in time receive those supplies they stood in need of. And the lord Jermin sent him a promise under his hand, that he should not fail of receiving all the things he had desired, before he could be pressed by the enemy; and therefore conjured him and his friends forthwith to declare for the King, which he assured them would be of singular benefit and advantage to his majesty's service; since, upon the first notice of their having declared, the Scots' army would be ready to march into England. And hereupon they presently declared, before they were provided to keep the field for want of ammunition and money, and when the town was not supplied with provisions for above two months; and were never thought of after.

41. The lord Byron had been sent from Paris, upon the importunities from Scotland to get as many places to declare in England, in several places, as might distract the army and keep it from an entire engagement against them, to dispose his

[1] [This is his own form of spelling.] [2] ['was,' MS.]

1648 old friends about Chester and North Wales to appear as soon as might be: and he presently, with the help of colonel Robinson, possessed himself of the island of Anglesey, and disposed all North Wales to be ready to declare as soon as the Scots should enter the kingdom. But that which was of most importance, and seemed already to have brought the war even into the heart of England, was, that some gentlemen who had formerly served the King in the garrison of Newark, and in the northern army under sir Marmaduke Langdale, had (by a design consulted with him before his going into Scotland, and upon orders received from him since, when he believed the Scots would be in a short time ready to begin their march) surprised[1] the strong castle of Pomfrett in Yorkshire, (which had a garrison in it for the Parliament,) and grew presently so numerous by the resort of officers and soldiers from the adjacent counties, that they grew formidable to all those parts[2], and made the communication between London and York insecure, except it was with strong troops. Upon which argument of the surprise of Pomfrett we shall enlarge hereafter, before we speak of the tragic conclusion of this enterprise. All affairs were in this motion in England before there was any appearance of an army in Scotland, which they had promised should be ready to march by the beginning of May.

42[3]. Indeed as to the raising an army in Scotland the difficulties were well nigh over, nor did they ever look upon that as a thing that would trouble them, but who should command and be general of this army was the matter upon which the success of all they proposed would depend; and if they could not procure the duke Hambleton to be made choice of for that service, they could promise themselves no good issue of the undertaking. It was a hard thing to remove the old general Lashly, who had been hitherto in the head of their army in all their prosperous successes, and was in the confidence of Arguyle, which was objection enough against him, if there were no other; but the man was grown old, and appeared in the actions of the last expedition into England very unequal to the com-

[1] ['had surprised,' MS.] [2] ['partyes,' MS.] [3] [*Life*, p. 355.]

mand; and therefore some expedient was to be found to be rid 1648
of him. And they found it no hard matter to prevail with him to decline the command upon pretence of his age and infirmities, when in truth he had no mind to venture his honour against the English, except assisted by English, which had been his good fortune in all the actions of moment which he had performed; and when he had been destitute of that help, he had always received some affront. When by this means there was a new general to be named, duke Hambleton was proposed, as May 11.
a fit man to be employed to redeem the honour of the nation. He had formerly undergone the office of general under the King of Sweden, when Lashly, that had now declined the employment, was major general under him; and therefore could not be thought to be without ample experience of the war.

43. Whilst this was depending, Arguyle took notice of sir Marmaduke Langdale's and sir Philip Musgrave's being in the town, and of some discourses which they had used, or some other English officers in their company, and desired that, if they were to have any command in the army, they might presently take the Covenant, and that there might be a general declaration that there should be neither officer nor soldier Apr. 20.
received into their army before he had first taken the Covenant: and that after they were entered into the kingdom of England, they should make no conjunction with any forces or persons who had not done, or should refuse to do, the same. This proposition found no opposition; they who were most forward to raise the army for the delivery of the King being as violent as any to advance that declaration. And though duke Hambleton and his brother of Lanricke did as well disapprove it in their own judgments, as they did foresee out of the long experience they had of England what prejudice it would bring upon them there, yet they had not the courage in any degree to speak against it; and the Chancellor [of Scotland] and the earl of Latherdale were as passionate for the advancement of it as Arguyle himself, and seemed to think that those two gentlemen either had already [taken] or would be willing to take it.

44. And it can hardly be believed, that, after so long know-

1648 ledge of England, and their observation of whom the King's party did consist, after their so often conferences with the King without prevailing upon him in any degree, either to preserve himself at Newcastle from being delivered up to the Parliament, or in their last agitation with him, when he yielded to so many unreasonable particulars to gratify them, to consent to or promise that any man should be compelled to take the Covenant, they[1] should still adhere to that fatal combination against the Church, which they could never hope to bring to pass except they intended only to change the hand, and to keep the King under as strict a restraint, when they should get him into their hands, as he was under the domination of the Parliament and army. Yet they were so infatuated with this resolution, that they discovered their apprehension of the King's party, and designed no less to oppress them than the Independents and Anabaptists; and upon the news of the revolt of the fleet from the Parliament to the King, the insurrections in Kent and other places, and the general inclinations throughout the kingdom for the King, they slackened their preparations, that they might defer their march, to the end that all that strength might be oppressed and reduced, that so they might be absolute masters after they had prevailed over the army. And at last, when they could defer their march no longer, upon the importunate pressure of their friends in London, they sent the earl of Latherdale with those insolent instructions which will be mentioned anon, and positively required the Prince immediately to repair to them; positively declaring, that if his person should not be forthwith in their army, they would return again into Scotland without making any attempt; and the knowing this resolution was the reason that the Queen was so positive in her instructions, notwithstanding the appearance of any other advantage to the King in England.

45. Sir Marmaduke Langdale and sir Philip Musgrave no sooner heard of this declaration, than they went to the lords, and expostulated very sharply with them, for having broken their faiths, and betrayed them into their country, where they

[1] ['that they,' MS.]

were looked upon as enemies. They were answered, that they 1648
must give over their design to redeem the King or yield to this determination, which the Parliament was so firm and united in, and would never depart from. And therefore they entreated them with all imaginable importunity that they would take the Covenant, some of them desiring to confer with them upon it, and undertaking to satisfy them that the Covenant did not include those things in it which they thought it did. But when they saw those gentlemen would not be prevailed with, but that on the contrary they resolved presently to leave the country, and told them that they would undeceive those honest people in England who were too much inclined to trust them, and that they should find that they had a harder work in hand than they imagined, they knew well enough of what importance their presence was to be to them for their very entrance into England; and thereupon desired them that they would have a little patience, and again absent themselves from Edenborough, till the heat of this dispute were over, and till the army should be ready to march; and duke Hambleton, who had a marvellous insinuation to get himself believed, assured them in confidence, that as soon as he should find himself in the head of his army, and upon their march, there should be no more talk of covenants, but that all the King's friends should be welcome, and without distinction. And so they left Edenborough again, and went to their old quarters; where they had not stayed long before the duke sent for them to come to him in private; and, after a very cheerful reception, he told them he was now ready, and that their friends in England called so importunately for them that he was resolved to march in very few days; which he thought necessary to communicate to them, not only for the friendship he had for them, which would always keep him without reserve towards them, but because he must depend upon them two to surprise the towns of Barwick and Carlisle against the time he should be able to march thither, because he intended to march between them.

46. The work was not hard to be performed by them, they having, from their first entrance into Scotland, adjusted with

1648 their friends who inhabited near those places to be ready for that enterprise when they should be called upon, which they then believed would have been much sooner; so that they were willing to undertake it, and demanded commissions from the duke for the doing thereof; which he excused himself for not giving, under pretence of the secrecy that was necessary, in respect whereof he would not trust his own secretary, and likewise as a thing unnecessary for the work; since it was their own reputation and interest, and their being known to have been always trusted by the King, by which they could bring it to pass, and not his commission, for which those towns would have no reverence. Besides, he told them that the marquis of Arguyle had still protested against their beginning the war by any act of hostility against the English in forcing any of the towns, which was not necessary in order to the King's delivery; but that an army might march to the place where the King was, to the end that those messengers who were sent by the State to speak with their King might have liberty to speak with his majesty; which was a right of the kingdom, and the demanding it could be no breach of the Pacification between the two kingdoms.

47. This argument, they knew, was not reasonable enough to sway the duke. But they foresaw two other reasons which did prevail with him not to give those commissions they desired, which otherwise might have been given with the same secrecy that the business was to be acted with; the one, the order against giving any commission to any man before he had taken the Covenant: (and how much authority soever the duke might take upon him to dispense with that order after he should be in England, it might not be convenient that he should assume it whilst he remained yet at Edenborough:) the other was, that, when they had done it without his commission, he might, upon his march or as soon as he came thither, dispossess them of the governments, and put Scotchmen into their places; the last of which he did not dissemble to them, but confessed that, though the Council of Scotland would not attempt the taking of those towns, yet when they should be

taken, they would expect that the government thereof should 1648
be in their hands, and depend upon them, without which they would not be able to send him those continual supplies which he expected from them, and there being then a recruit of five or six thousand, which sir George Mountroe had near raised in the north, who were to begin their march after him as soon as he should be out of Scotland. The two gentlemen had no purpose of remaining in those governments, well knowing that their presence would be of importance to the army, at least whilst they stayed in the northern counties; yet they knew well it was for the service that those towns should remain in the hands of the English, without which few of the gentlemen of those parts would declare themselves, how well affected soever they were; which when they had offered to the duke, they left it to him, and accepted the employment he pressed them to undertake, and parted to put the same in execution in Apr. 27.
both places at one time, all things being concerted between them to that purpose.

48. Sir Marmaduke Langdale had several officers and soldiers lay privately on the Scotch side to wait his commands, and more on the English; there being two or three good families within two or three miles of Barwick who were well affected, and ready to appear when they should be required; in expectation whereof they had for some time harboured many men. Some of them sir Marmaduke appointed to meet with him on the Scotch side at a place about a mile distant from Barwick, the night before he intended the surprise, and the rest to be in the town by the rising of the sun, some about the market place, and some upon the bridge by which he must enter. The next morning, being market day, when great droves of little horses Apr. 28.
laden with sacks of corn always resorted to the town, sir Marmaduke Langdale with about a hundred horse, and some few foot which walked with the market people, presently after sunrising was upon the bridge before there was any apprehension; and finding his friends there whom he expected, he caused the bridge presently to be drawn up and guarded by his foot, and sent others to the other port. Himself with most

1648 of his troop went into the market place, where he found his country friends ready to do all he would command. But there was so general a consternation seized upon the whole town, there being no other garrison but town's-men, that after they had seized upon the mayor, who was the governor, all things were in a short time so quiet, that they opened their ports again, that the market might not be interrupted. Sir Philip
Apr. 29. Musgrave with as little opposition possessed himself of Carlisle, where he had a greater interest, and the people were generally better affected to the King, and more disinclined to the Scotch, than those of Barwick used to be; and they both hastened advertisement to the duke of what they had done.

49. It will be much wondered at, that after Cromwell plainly foresaw that they should have a war with Scotland, and had constant intelligence from thence of the advances they made, he did not take care to put garrisons into those two important places, the very strength of which could for some time have withstood all the power which Scotland could have brought against them. But the same reason which had been current at Edenborough to this very time, had prevailed at Westminster. It was specially provided for by the Act of Pacification between the two kingdoms, when the Parliaments of either kingdom combined against the King, that there should be no more garrisons kept on either side in Barwick and Carlisle; where they were then disbanded, and some of their fortifications slighted; which could easily have been repaired, and without repairing could have kept out an enemy for some time. And the Parliament would not permit any men to be now sent thither, that the Scots might not pretend that the war was begun by them, but left Barwick to the government of the mayor and the citizens, who could have defended themselves against the Scots if they had expected them. But the truth is, Cromwell had so perfect a contempt of the whole strength of the nation, that he never cared what advantage ground they had upon any field or what place they ever possessed.

50[1]. Sir Marmaduke Langdale and sir Philip Musgrave no

[1] [*Hist.*, p. 2.]

sooner were possessed of Barwick [and Carlisle,] than all the 1648
gentlemen, officers, and soldiers, who had formerly served the King, resorted and flocked to them, well armed, appointed and provided for the war; so that they had not only very sufficient garrisons to keep those places, but troops enough of horse to free the adjacent counties from those forces and committees, and other persons, who were either publicly engaged in, or well known privately to wish well to, the Parliament. It was upon the 28th of April that sir Marmaduke Langdale possessed himself of Barwick; and the next day after sir Philip Musgrave surprised Carlisle, about eight of the clock at night, many gentlemen of the neighbours being in and about the town, expecting his arrival; so that the citizens were in confusion, and made little resistance. It is very true that they had both given under their hands to duke Hambleton that they would deliver up the towns to him when he should require them; he having assured them that the King had promised under his hand that those two towns should be delivered into the possession of the Scots, which it must needs be supposed that they should first take from the Parliament, in whose possession they were both when the King signed the engagement at Carisbroke castle. And the duke had not only refused to give them any men or assistance towards the taking them, but would not grant them his commission to perform it, pretending that he durst not do it, because they were bound not to begin the war: only he, and the other lords of his fraternity, promised to send five hundred muskets and ten barrels of powder to each garrison, and that their whole army should march into England within twenty days, and that, if they were sooner in distress, they should be sure to be relieved.

51. But after he heard that both places were possessed by them, he deferred not to send a governor and garrison to take Barwick; to whom sir Marmaduke Langdale delivered it according to his promise, and was required to march with all the English to the parts adjacent to Carlisle, and there to increase his troops to what number he could, and with what expedition was possible; which he performed so effectually,

1648 May 31 that in very few days he had a rendezvous upon a heath within five miles of Carlisle, where he mustered above three thousand foot well armed, and seven hundred horse not so well armed; all which were raised in Cumberland and Westmoreland, over and above the garrison of Carlisle, which yet remained under sir Philip Musgrave. And within two days five hundred horse, very well appointed, came out of Yorkshire, the bishopric of Durham, and the neighbour parts; so that sir Marmaduke Langdale resolved presently to march into Lancashire, and to reduce those who were for the Parliament there; which he could easily have done, the lord Byron being ready upon the borders of Cheshire to have joined with him. But this quick advance and progress towards an army was not well looked upon at Edenborough; and an express was despatched with positive orders to sir Marmaduke Langdale not to engage or fight with the enemy, upon what advantage soever, until the Scots' army should come up; and wherever that express should overtake sir Marmaduke, he was immediately to retire with all his forces near Carlisle: which he obeyed as soon as he received the order, and when he might have marched against Lambert, who was sent before with a less strength than sir Marmaduke commanded, and which in all probability would have been defeated[2].

52. But, as if this had not been discouragement enough, within one or two days after that express, letters were sent from the Council by which sir Marmaduke Langdale was very severely reprehended for receiving Papists into his army, and not owning the Covenant in the declarations which he had published; and told that he should receive no assistance from them except the Covenant was embraced by all his army. This struck at the root of all their hopes, and was so contrary to all the engagements they had received from the Scots' lords, both by words and letters, that they should never be troubled with any such motions after they were once upon English ground, and that they should proceed upon those grounds as were like to bring in most men to their assistance, that sir Marmaduke

[1] [Clar. MSS., No. 2867: *Cal. S.P.*, i. 435.] [2] [Rushworth, IV. ii. 1148.]

prevailed with sir Philip Musgrave to make a journey forthwith to Edenborough, to expostulate upon the whole matter, and declare their firm resolution to them. 1648

53. Sir Philip Musgrave, that it might appear that they did not exclude any who had taken the Covenant and were willing to join with them, carried a list with him of the names of many officers in their troops who had been compelled to take the Covenant before they could be admitted to composition or procure the sequestrations to be taken from their estates, and of some others who had taken it for quietness' sake in the places where they lived; with which the Scots were in some degree mitigated, but seemed to retain still their rigour that it should be submitted to by the whole army.

54. In the mean time Lambert, having gotten a strong body of horse and foot, advanced upon sir Marmaduke Langdale; who, being enjoined not to fight, was forced to retire to Carlisle, and to suffer himself to be, upon the matter, blocked up on one side, whilst he sent letter upon letter to the duke to hasten his march, or to send some troops to his assistance, and liberty to fight the enemy. June 25.

55[1]. Though the earl of Norwich had found the assembly at Maydstone very numerous, he found them likewise very disorderly and without government, nor easy to be reduced under any command. They had been long enough together to enter into jealousies of one another, and from thence into factions, and were of several opinions what they were to do. And though they all pretended an entire submission and obedience to the earl of Norwich as their general, yet no man forbore to deliver his opinion of things and persons, nor to inquire by what means they had been first drawn together; which implied that many men wished that they had been to begin again. The earl was a man fitter to have drawn such a body together, by his frolic and pleasant humour, which reconciled people of all constitutions wonderfully to him, than to form and conduct them towards any enterprise. He had always lived in the Court, in such a station of business as raised him very few

[1] [*Life*, p. 349.]

1648 enemies; and his pleasant and jovial nature, which was every where acceptable, made him many friends, at least made many delighted in his company. So that by the great favour he had with the King and Queen, and the little prejudice he stood in with any body else, he was very like (if the fatal disorder of the time had not blasted his hopes,) to have grown master of a very fair fortune; which was all that he proposed to himself. But he had no experience or knowledge of the war, nor knew how to exercise the office he had taken upon him of general, but was very willing to please every man, and comply with every body's humour; which was quickly discovered, and so men withdrew the reverence they were prepared to have paid him, and grew more obstinate in their own opinions what was to be done; and the indisposition increased when they heard that Fayrefax himself was appointed to march towards them. They who best understood the affair, and how to apply the strength they had to the best advantage, advised that they might retire beyond Rochester, and by breaking down the bridge there, and fortifying another pass or two, which was easy to be done, they might keep the enemy from entering into the [east[1]] of Kent (which was the largest and best part of that rich and populous county) longer than they would be able to continue the attempt, for fear of being enclosed by an enemy at their back, if the city of London, or those of Essex, who were most spoken of, had a mind to declare for the King; and by this means they might be sure of a correspondence with the fleet; of the return whereof in a short time they were most confident, and the more because some gentlemen of their own body were on board the fleet in some authority, who they knew would hasten their return all they could; and many were the more persuaded that the fleet was gone to the Isle of Wight for the rescue of the King, because those gentlemen were gone in it.

56. And without doubt that advice was the most reasonable, and if it had been pursued might have kept the enemy at a bay for some time. But other men less reasonable were of another mind: they did not believe that Fayrefax could have leisure to

[1] ['west,' MS.]

look after them; they were confident that the Parliament had so many enemies to look after, those in Wales growing strong, and having beaten the party that had been sent against them[1]; and the officers in the north, who had seized upon Pomfrett castle in Yorkshire, and had drawn in a strong garrison from the parts adjacent, had a body of horse that infested all those parts; and the Scots were upon their march for England; and therefore they concluded that Fayrefax could not be at leisure to visit them: the retiring would be an argument of fear, which would dishearten their friends at London, and all those of that part of Kent which must be deserted upon their retreat would desert them as soon as that resolution should be known; and therefore they desired that they might all march to Blackheath, which would raise the spirits of their friends, and many would resort every day to them out of London and the parts adjacent, all which were eminently well affected. 1648

57. The noise for this was the greater, and the earl of Norwich himself was thereby swayed to be of that opinion; and so they resolved to advance, and a short day was appointed for a general rendezvous upon Blackheath, and orders were sent out accordingly. May 29.

58. The disturbance in so many places made the resolution of the general now to be known which had been hitherto carefully concealed, that Fayrefax himself was not willing to march against the Scots; which was not now counsellable for him to do. Cromwell was very willing to take that province to himself, and had so great a contempt of the Scots that he was willing to march with a much less number than he well knew the Scots' army to consist of; and being informed which way the Scots resolved to enter the kingdom, and that they were even ready to march, he advanced to meet them as soon as they should be entered, with those troops which he had made choice

[1] [The lines, 'They were confident . . . against them,' are substituted in the MS. for the following: 'a castle or two in Wales had declared for the King at this time, and in it were Langhorne and Poyer and Powell, which had all served the Parliament in good commands, and the country came to them with a general affection, and the Parliament had sent down Gravesnor with some horse into those parts, who had received some affront in his march, and himself was killed.']

1648 of, and troubled not himself with Pomfrett castle or with what was done in Wales, which he thought would not give them much trouble if the other were subdued.

59. Fayrefax with the numerous part of the army remained in and about London, to suppress the insurrection in Kent, and to watch any other which should fall out in the city or thereabouts; of which they had more apprehension than of all the power of Scotland. And so when the Parliament was advertised by their troops which were first sent that they were too weak to advance farther, and heard that the earl of Norwich was declared general of the Kentish troops, and was marching in the head of them to Blackheath, Fayrefax drew all his army together and his cannon, and marched over London Bridge to meet the men of Kent at Blackheath, and to stop their march to London. The earl was now advanced too far, and Fairfax advanced too fast, to put the former counsel in practice, by breaking down the bridges and keeping the passes; and they who had opposed that counsel, and were so forward to advance, thought they were now too far. The countrymen were weary of being all night in the field, though it was the warmest season of the year, the month of July[1], and many withdrew themselves every day; so that they who remained had no reason to believe themselves equal to the power that marched towards them, and yet there were more left than could hope to preserve themselves by flying and by concealment. And therefore the earl, upon conference with those who remained, and were resolved to run the utmost hazard, resolved to pass themselves and their horses, by such boats as they had ready about Greenwich and down the river, over into Essex, where they knew they had many friends, and where Fayrefax and his army could not visit
June 3, 4. them in some days. And so they made a shift to transport themselves to the number of near two thousand men, horse and foot; whereof many were officers and soldiers who had served the King, and young gentlemen grown up into those families, who had been too young to appear before.

60. They found many persons in Essex ready to join with

[1] [June.]

them, who came sooner together than they intended upon the alarum of Kent, and who had purposed to have passed over into Kent, to have joined with and assisted those who had so frankly appeared for the King, if they had not been prevented by their unexpected coming to them. There was the brave lord Capell, sir William Compton, sir Charles Lucas, sir George Lysle, sir Bernard Gascoigne, all excellent officers, with whom colonel Farr, who had served the Parliament, and was a known creature and confident of the earl of Warwick, and had at that time the command of Languard Point, a fort of importance upon the sea, joined with them, and many other gentlemen and officers of name, who had drawn together many soldiers; so that when they were joined together, with those who came from Kent, [they] made a body of above three thousand horse and foot, with officers enough to have formed and commanded a very good army. 1648

61. They knew well Fayrefax would quickly visit them, and therefore they chose to post themselves in Colchester, a great and populous town, which though unfortified, they cast up such works before the avenues that they did not much fear to be forced by an assault; and resolved to expect the conjunction with other of their friends, and were most confident that the Scots' army, which they heard was upon its march, would be with them before they could be in distress. June 12.

62. They had scarce put themselves and the town, which was not glad of their company, into any order, before Fayrefax came upon them; who made no stay in Kent after he heard what was become of the earl of Norwich and his friends, but left two or three troops of horse to settle that county, with the assistance of their committees, who had been driven from thence, and, returning now victorious, knew well enough how to deal with those who had revolted from them. When he came first before Colchester, and saw it without any fortification, he thought presently to have entered the town with his army; but he found so rude resistance, that, by the advice of Ireton, who was left by Cromwell to watch the general as well as the army, he resolved to encompass it with his army, and, without hazarding the loss of men, to block them up till famine should June 13.

1648 reduce them; and disposed his army accordingly, which quickly stopped up all passages by which either men or provisions should get into the town, though by many brave sallies from within their quarters were often beaten up, and many valiant men were lost on all sides.

63. The fleet, after it had with all imaginable cheerfulness submitted to the command of the Prince, was not so active as it was expected it should be, and was very much the worse for the factions and divisions which were amongst those who attended upon the Prince, who, according to their several humours, endeavoured to work upon the seamen; who were a people capable of any impression, but not retentive of it. Prince Rupert, to whom the Prince was very kind, did not, upon many old contests in the late war, love the lord Culpeper, who was not of a temper that cared to court him. And there was one, who had the greatest influence [on[1]] prince Rupert, Harbert, the Attorney General, that of all men living was most disposed to make discord and disagreement between men, all his faculties being resolved into a spirit of contradicting, disputing, and wrangling, upon any thing that was proposed; and having no title or pretence to interpose in councils, and yet there being no secret in the debates there, he found it easy to infuse into prince Rupert, who totally resigned himself to his advice, such arguments as might disturb any resolution. And there were so many who were angry that they were not admitted into the council, as the lords Percy, Wilmott, and Wentworth, that it was no hard matter to get any thing disliked that was resolved there. And they had all that admission and countenance from the Prince, that they had as much confidence to speak to and before him as any where else. Prince Rupert had a great mind that somewhat should be attempted upon the coast, which might have caused some sea-towns and the parts adjacent to have declared for the King; which was not a design that would bear a reasonable discourse. But action was a very grateful word to the seamen, and they who opposed any thing that tended towards it, were looked upon with great jealousy

[1] ['of,' MS.]

and prejudice. But the Prince was obliged, (as hath been said,) 1648
by his instructions at Paris, not to engage himself in any thing that might divert him from being ready at the minute when the Scots should call for his presence; and they expected the first intimation of that from London; from whence they had already the assurance that duke Hambleton was entered into the kingdom with an army of above thirty thousand men; which was true.

64. When the Prince came with the fleet into the sea from Helvord Sluce he met a ship of London bound for Rotterdam, and laden with cloth by the company of Merchant Adventurers, who did not think that the fleet could have been so soon ready for sea. This ship was taken, and, the decks being sealed up, was kept under guard with the fleet, which at their entrance into the river of Thames took many other ships of great value outward bound, and intercepted all vessels homeward bound, and amongst those an East-Indian ship, and richly laden [1], and the more welcome because the ship itself was a very strong ship and would make an excellent man of war, and the captain thereof was a seaman of courage and experience, and was very well inclined to serve the King. And, without doubt, if all the ships which were then taken had been sent into some secure ports, the value of the goods would have amounted to so vast a sum as might have countervailed a very great expense at sea and land. But as it would have been very difficult to have found such a secure port, where that treasure might have been deposited, so it was not suitable to those measures which had been taken, and were still pursued, for his royal highness' proceedings. The city of London was to be courted by all the artifices imaginable, and that was so alarumed by the fleet's being in the river, and by the seizure of so many of their ships, especially the cloth ship, that there was a general consternation amongst the people: and the Lord Mayor and aldermen applied themselves to the Parliament for leave to send down some agents to the fleet to procure a release of that ship; and if that

[1] ['near £20,000 in gold:' Whitlocke's *Memorials*, under date of Aug. 8.]

1648 could not be brought to pass, that they might buy it at as good rate as they could get it. Which was the introducing such a commerce and correspondence between the fleet and the city in such a conjuncture of jealousy, that most men believed the Parliament would never have hearkened to it, and concluded from their granting it that there was another kind of treasure enclosed in that ship than what belonged to the Merchant Adventurers, and that many of those who granted that indulgence to the city had more money on board that vessel than the cloth was worth, though the value thereof amounted to no less than forty thousand pounds.

65. Upon this liberty granted by the Parliament, a committee was sent from the city with a petition to the Prince of Wales, that he would restore the ship, which belonged to his father's good subjects. With these men came letters from some of those who were well known to be very solicitous at that time for the advancement of the King's service, and privy to the treaty with the Scots and whatever was intended by the earl of Holland: the countess of Carlisle, (who was trusted by all that people, and had gotten again confidence from the Queen,) trusted Mr. Low, who was employed by the city in this negotiation, to say many things to the Prince of the good inclinations of the city, and how necessary it was not to irritate it. And he brought other letters and testimonies to give him credit, as a man trusted by all who intended to serve the King, and who had with wonderful address gotten him to be one of those employed by the city, that he might, under that security, give such animadversions to the Prince and to his council as were necessary. He was a man intelligent enough of the spirit and humour of the city, and very conversant with the nobility and gentry about the town; and though he was trusted by the Presbyterian party, as a man entirely addicted to them, he took pains to insinuate himself into many of the King's party, which did believe him fit to be trusted in any thing that might concern them. But he was a man of so voluble a tongue, and so everlasting a talker, and so undertaking and vain, that no sober man could be imposed upon by him.

66. Upon the receipt of this petition, the Prince writ a long letter to the city, and enclosed in it a declaration, for the publishing of both which in print care was taken; the substance of which was, the great affection he bore to that city and the prosperity thereof; the whole being in such a style as might best please the Presbyterians, with less care than should have been used to preserve the zeal of the King's party; and desiring that they would join with him for the delivery of the King his father out of prison, and to make a good understanding between his majesty and the Parliament, which his highness desired with all imaginable concernment. The citizens quickly found that there was no hope to have their ship released without a good sum of money, which the Prince told them was absolutely necessary for the payment of the seamen, and which he would receive as a loan from them, and repay it when a peace should be made. And so some of them returned to London, and the rest remained with the fleet, coming and going for a month, and driving many bargains for other ships. And by this means the [Prince[1]] received advertisement of the Scots' continuing of their march, and that those who were enclosed in Colchester were in a very good condition, and willing to expect relief; which they would be sure to receive in due time, the earl of Holland being ready to declare as soon as their pressures should require it. And after near a month's negotiation, there was about twelve thousand pounds paid to the Prince, and thereupon that cloth ship was delivered to the merchants, with a general opinion, as hath been said, that there was somewhat else besides cloth in the body of it; for which there was not any search suffered to be made. 1648 July 29.

67. Whilst the Prince lay in the Downs, there was one enterprise necessary to be made on shore, which did not succeed to wish. Upon the first revolt of the fleet from the Parliament, and before it set sail for Holland, it had taken one or two of those blockhouses[2] which are nearest the mouth of the river, and had left some seamen in them, with sufficient provisions to defend themselves till the fleet should return. The Prince

[1] ['King,' MS.]

[2] [Deal, Walmer, and Sandown.]

1648 found these blockhouses besieged, and received intelligence out of them, that their provisions were so near spent that they could not hold out above so many days. The strength that lay before them consisted more in horse than foot; and at high tide the boats might go so near, that there seemed little difficulty in putting in relief, or to compel those who were before [them[1]] to rise: and the seamen, having nothing else to do, offered to undertake the service for the redemption of their fellows; and many land officers being likewise on board, and some foot soldiers, the Prince sent some of those with the seamen to
Aug. 14. undertake the business. But it had no good issue; the tide was too far spent before it began, whereby they had more ground to march between their landing and the castle than they imagined, and the horse charged them with resolution, [so] that many of the men were killed, and more taken prisoners, and the rest forced to their boats with more disorder than became them. And some other attempts being afterwards made with no better success, the blockhouses at last came into the hands of the enemy; which though of little inconvenience to the Prince, those forts being of very small importance to do any prejudice, yet there was some disreputation in it, which discredited the designs, which had not yet appeared very prosperous in any place; and any access of good fortune raised the spirits of those who easily were persuaded to think it greater than it was, in a time when they lay under some mortification.

68. By this time another fleet was prepared by the Parliament, of more and better ships than had revolted, and the
May 29. command thereof given to the earl of Warwick, who very frankly accepted it, and was already on board, and with the tide was come within sight of the Prince; and there dropped
Aug. 29. anchor. So that both fleets lay within that distance of each other that there was now nothing thought of but a battle; to which there seemed all alacrity in the Prince's fleet; and it may be the more upon the intelligence that the other was not well manned, and that many were put on board who had more

[1] ['it,' MS.]

affection for the King, which they would manifest when they came within distance: but whether that fancy was from imagination or intelligence, it seemed to have no foundation in truth. 1648

69. The earl of Warwick and his fleet appeared resolute and prepared enough for an engagement: yet it was well known that the earl was privy to the engagement of his brother the earl of Holland, and had promised to join with him. And therefore it was thought fit that the Prince should write to the earl to summon or invite him to return to his allegiance. And this was sent by Harry Seymour, who quickly returned with an answer from the earl, which, in terms of duty enough, humbly besought his highness to put himself into the hands of the Parliament, and that the fleet might submit to their obedience, upon which they should be pardoned for their revolt. Aug. 29.

70. Though this might well have satisfied concerning the earl's inclination, yet the Prince was prevailed with that Mr. Crofts might give the earl a visit, who, having more acquaintance with him, who was married with his aunt, might be able to get a private audience of the earl, which Seymour endeavoured, but could not obtain; but Crofts returned as the other did. And now there wanted only a wind to bring them together, which coming fair for the Prince, he resolved to attack them. And all anchors were weighed, and preparations were made to advance to the assault, the whole fleet being under sail towards the other; which seemed equally resolved and disposed; though the wind, which drove the Prince upon them, compelled them a little to retire, where the river was a little narrower. And in an instant the wind ceased, and there was a calm; so that the Prince could not advance; and some doubts arose upon the narrowing the river, as if some ships might want water in the engagement. In this deliberation the wind rose again, but from another quarter, which was directly in the Prince's face, and would not suffer him to move towards the enemy, but drove him back, and would carry him out of the river. Hereupon were new consultations; great want of provisions [was[1]] discovered to be in the fleet, insomuch as Aug. 30.

[1] ['were,' MS.]

1648 that they should not be able to stay at sea above ten days, and many ships would want sooner; and therefore since the earl of Warwick, as the wind stood, could not be compelled to fight, and they were in danger to be distressed for provisions, it was
Aug. 31. thought most counsellable to put to sea, where they could more commodiously engage in a battle if the earl of Warwick would advance; and if he did not, there was great reason to hope that the Prince might meet with those ships which were coming from Portsmouth to join with the earl, and which might easily be surprised or taken by the Prince's fleet, which was much superior to them in strength.

Aug. 16. 71. At this time the earl of Latherdale arrived in a ship from Scotland; and having left duke Hambleton upon his march towards Barwick, he was sent to demand the performance of the treaty, and that the Prince would immediately repair to that army. This confirmed the Prince in the purpose of putting out to sea, since it was absolutely necessary to carry the fleet first into Holland before it could transport him into the northern parts. And so the whole fleet went to sea, and continued their course for Holland, with hope still to meet with those ships which were coming from Portsmouth. And meet
Aug. 31. with them they did in the night, which the Prince knew not of till the morning, and then one put the fault to another; and it was now necessary to make all possible haste to Holland, since by the conjunction with these ships, (besides all other advantages,) the earl of Warwick was now become superior in the number as well as the strength and goodness of his ships; which appeared by his coming before Helvord Sluce within few days after the Prince's arrival there.

72[1]. It was near the middle of July when the duke entered
July 8. into England with his army, and then he came to Carlisle, and immediately took that government from sir Philip Musgrave, and drew out all the English garrison, and put Scots in their place. And after some few days' stay there, the English and
July 15. Scots' forces met at a rendezvous, in the way to Penrith in Cumberland, where Lambert then quartered: and if they had

[1] [*Hist.*, p. 3.]

continued their march, (as they ought to have done,) it is very 1648
probable they had broken that body of Lambert's. But the duke would quarter that night two miles short; and Lambert in the same night marched from thence in great disorder and confusion to the edge of Yorkshire. The duke rested many days, that all his forces might come up, which came slowly up out of Scotland. As soon as they were come up, he marched to Kendal, where he rested again a full fortnight; the reason whereof nobody could imagine; except it were that those forces which were up in several parts of the kingdom for the King might undergo some defeat, that they might not so unite as to control or obstruct the Presbyterian design. For[1] after [that army[2]] was entered into England, and moved, as hath been said, by such very slow marches, and so negligently, and with so little apprehension of an enemy, that it was quartered at so huge a distance that the head-quarter was very often twenty miles distant from some part of the army (the duke himself performing no part of the office of a general, but taking his ease, and being wholly governed by David Lashly, the lieutenant general of the army, and two or three other officers), sir Marmaduke Langdale marched with his body of English, consisting of near four thousand foot and seven or eight hundred horse, always a day before the army; by which they intended to have timely advertisement of the enemy's motion, and for which they made no other provision, and likewise meant that he should bear the first brunt of them, desiring to weaken him by all the ways they could.

73. They had not marched many days, it being now near the middle of August, when sir Marmaduke Langdale advertised the duke, by an express, that he had received unquestionable intelligence that Cromwell was within two or three days' march, and resolved to engage his army as soon as possibly he could, and that he would not be diverted from it by the people's gathering together at any distance from him in what posture soever; and therefore desired his grace that he would keep his army close together, for that they could not be far

[1] [*Life*, p. 359.] [2] ['it,' MS.]

1648 asunder with any security; and [declared] that he himself would rest, and wait the advance of the enemy, and then retire back as he should find it necessary.

74. The duke, notwithstanding this advertisement, reformed not the order of his march in any degree, but was persuaded that the enemy could not be so near; and that if Cromwell was advanced to such a distance, it was only with such a party as he would not presume to engage with their whole army. And in this confidence he marched as he had done before. Sir Marmaduke sent him every day advice that confirmed the former, and that his horse had encountered some of the enemy, and that their whole body was at hand; but that it was true it was not a body equal in number to their army, yet all that Cromwell expected was to join [battle] with him. All this gained not credit, till sir Marmaduke himself, making his retreat with very sharp skirmishes, in which many men fell on both
Aug. 16. sides, was pursued into the head quarters of the duke; whither he likewise brought with him some prisoners, who averred, that the whole body of the army was within five or six miles, and marched as fast as they were able.

75. The duke was confounded with the intelligence, and, at his wits' end, knew not what to do: the army was not together; and that part that was about him was without any order, and made no show of any purpose to fight. In this amazement, the
Aug. 17. duke stayed himself with some officers at Preston, and caused his foot to be drawn over a bridge, that they might march towards Wiggan, a pretty town in Lancashire, where he should, as he thought, find some regiments, and where they might make some stand till the rest should come up. In[1] the mean time sir Marmaduke Langdale returned to his troops, the duke having promised to send him some troops to assist, and that some foot should be sent to keep a lane that would flank his men upon his retreat. Sir Marmaduke retired before the enemy, and drew up his troops into the closes near Preston. The enemy followed him close, and pressed him very hard; notwithstanding which he maintained the dispute for above six

[1] [*Hist.*, p. 3.]

hours with great courage, and with very great loss to the enemy in officers and common soldiers; insomuch as they seemed to retire, at least to make a stand. And in all this time the Scots sent him no assistance, but concluded that it was not Cromwell's whole army that assaulted him, but only some party, which he would himself be well enough able to disengage himself from. And sir Marmaduke Langdale told me often afterwards, that he verily believed that if one thousand foot had then been sent to him he[1] should have gained the day; and Cromwell himself acknowledged that he never saw foot fight so desperately as those did. 1648

76. The Scots continued their march over the bridge, without taking any care to secure the lane which he had recommended to them; by which Cromwell's horse came upon his flank, whilst he was equally pressed in the van. So that his excellent body of foot being broken, sir Marmaduke and such of his horse as kept together were driven into the town, where the duke remained yet with some officers; all which retreated over a ford to the foot, who were in equal disorder. For as soon as the English forces were broken, the Scots were presently beaten from the bridge, and forced to a very disorderly march. However, the duke had still his own army entire; with which he continued to march two or three days, till he came to Uxeter; and in that time many of the Scottish noblemen forsook him, and rendered themselves prisoners to the gentlemen of the country; and Cromwell's troops pressed so hard upon the rear, that they killed, and took as many prisoners as they pleased, without hazarding one man of their own. [The duke] was scarce got into Uxeter, when[2] his troops, which made no resistance, were beaten in upon him, and so close pursued by Cromwell's horse that himself and all the principal officers (some few excepted, who, by lying concealed, or by the benefit of the swiftness of their horse[s], made their escape) were taken prisoners: the duke himself neither behaving himself like a general nor a gentleman of courage, which he was not before Aug. 22.

[1] ['that he,' MS.]

[2] [*Life*, p. 359.]

1648 thought to want, but making all submissions and all the excuses, when he was brought to Cromwell, that a poor-spirited man could do.

77. Thus his whole army was routed and defeated; more killed out of contempt than that they deserved it by any opposition; the rest taken prisoners, all their cannon and baggage taken, and their colours; only some of their horse, which had been quartered most backward, made haste to carry news to their country of the ill success of their arms. They who did not take the way for Scotland, were for the most part taken by the activity of the country or the horse that pursued them; whereof sir Marmaduke Langdale, after he had made his way with some of his officers and soldiers, who stood with him till they found it safest to disperse themselves, had the fortune to be discovered, and was so taken prisoner, and sent to the castle of Nottingham. And all this great victory was got by Cromwell with an army not amounting to a third part of the Scots in number, if they had been all together; and which was not diminished half a hundred men in obtaining this victory, after the English forces had been defeated.

78[1]. The lord Cottington and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had many misadventures, which detained them from attending upon the Prince in the fleet. As soon as they heard that his highness had put himself on board a ship at Calice to July $\frac{10}{20}$. find the fleet in Holland, they embarked at Diepe in a French man of war that was bound for Dunkirk; where, when they July $\frac{11}{21}$. arrived, they found a gentleman, a servant of the Prince, who informed them that the Prince was with the whole fleet in the Downs, and that he had sent him with a letter to the marshal Ranzaw, who was governor of Dunkirk, to borrow a frigate of him, which he had, and had by some civil message offered to lend to his highness; and the marshal, who received them with great civility, assured them that the frigate should be ready the next day, and if they pleased to make use of it, to carry them to the Prince.

79. They looked upon it as an excellent opportunity, which

[1] [*Hist.*, p. 4.]

would deliver them much sooner at the fleet than they had before expected to be; and so, without weighing the dangers which might accompany it, and might very naturally have been foreseen, they embraced the occasion; there being no hazard which they apprehended at sea but that they might be taken by the Parliament ships, which, by the Prince's being with his fleet in the Downs, and so being master at sea, was hardly possible. And so they unwarily put themselves into that frigate, and set sail in the evening from Dunkirk; presuming that they should the next morning find themselves in the Downs with the Prince. But there was so dead a calm that night that they made very little way, and the next morning found that they were chased by six or seven frigates off Ostend. The sum was, that they were taken prisoners, and plundered of all they had, (which amounted to good value in jewels and money,) and were carried into Ostend, where, though they were presently at liberty, they were compelled to stay many days, not without some hope, raised by the civility of the Spanish governor and the lords of the admiralty, who very liberally promised an entire restitution of all that they had lost. But that being without any effect, that brutish people, the free-booters, being subject to no government, they found means to give notice to the Prince of all that had happened, and that they would attend his command at Flushing; whither they easily went, without being any more exposed to the perils of the sea. Within few days after, the Prince out of the Downs sent a frigate for them to Flushing; where they embarked several times, and were at sea the whole night and in the morning driven back by high winds, sometimes into Flushing, sometimes to the Ramekins, and so were compelled to go to Middleborough; and after a month's stay in those places, and many attempts to get to sea, they received orders from the Prince to attend him in Holland, whither he had resolved to go as soon as the earl of Latherdale arrived from Scotland in the fleet, and had delivered his imperious invitation for the Prince his immediate repair to the Scots' army, which was then entered into England. And by this means they came not to

1648 July $\frac{13}{23}$. July $\frac{13}{23}$. Sept. $\frac{6}{15}$.

1648 Sept. 17. the Prince till the next day after he came to the Hague, having left the fleet before Goree and near Helvord Sluce.

80[1]. The Prince was received by the States with all outward respect, and treated by them for four or five days at their charge in their *Hostel de Ville*; his highness every night lodging in the palace, which belonged to the States too, where the Prince of Aurange and the Princess lay, and where both his royal highness and the duke of York had very good apartments; the Prince and duke, after two or three days, always eating with the Princess Royal, the Prince of Aurange himself keeping his own table open (according to custom) for the resort of such of the States, or officers of the army, or other noble persons, who frequently repaired thither.

81. The Court was full of faction, and animosity against each other, so that the new comers were not only very well received by the Prince, but very welcome to every body, who, being angry with the other councillors who were there, believed matters would be better carried now they were come. They had not been an hour in the Hague, when Harbert, the Attorney General, who had never loved either of them, came to them, and congratulated their arrival; told them how much they had been wanted, and how much prince Rupert longed for their company. And within a very short time after prince Rupert himself came to bid them welcome, with all possible grace, and profession of great kindness and esteem for them. They both inveighed bitterly against the whole administration of the fleet, in which most part of the Court, which had been present, and who agreed in nothing else, concurred with them.

82. The whole clamour was against the lord Culpeper, and sir Robert Longe, the Prince's secretary, who by the Queen's injunctions was wholly subservient to the lord Culpeper. They accused them of corruption, not only with reference to the cloth ship, but to the release of very many other ships, which they had discharged, and upon no other reason, but as it would be a very popular thing, and make the Prince grateful to the city of London. Though there was much discourse of money brought

[1] [*Life*, p. 358.]

to both their cabins by Mr. Low, yet there was never any proof made of any corruption in the lord Culpeper, who was not indeed to be wrought upon that way; but, having some infirmities, and a multitude of enemies, he was never absolved from any thing of which any man accused him; and the other was so notoriously inclined to that way of husbandry, that he was always thought guilty of more than he was charged with. It was true enough that great riches [were[1]] parted with, and had been released for little or no money; which being now exceedingly wanted, made it easily believed that such unthrifty counsel could not have been given except by those who were well rewarded for it; which still fell upon those two. 1648

83. There was a general murmur that the fleet had lain so long idle at the mouth of the river, when it had been proposed that it might go to the Isle of Wight, where they might, in the consternation the whole kingdom was then in, probably have been able to have released the King; Carisbrooke being near the sea, not strong in itself, and without a strong castle, the island well affected, and at that time under no such power as could subdue them. And why such an attempt, which if unsuccessful could have been attended with no damage considerable, was not made, was never fully answered.

84. They were very angry with Batten, and would have it treachery in him that the two fleets did not fight with each other when they were so near engaging in the river, which, they said, they might well have done before the wind changed, if he had not dissuaded the Prince; and in this the clamour of the seamen joined with them. But it was but clamour, for most dispassionate men gave him a good testimony in that affair, and that he behaved himself like a skilful officer, and was very forward to fight whilst there was reason to affect it. The other reproach upon him, of passing by the ships which came from Portsmouth in the night, was not so well answered: for it was known, though he said that they were passed by and out of reach before he was informed of them, that he had notice time enough to have engaged them, and did decline it; which

[1] ['was,' MS.]

1648 might reasonably enough have been done out of the apprehension, (besides the inconvenience of a night engagement,) that the noise of the conflict might have called the earl of Warwick out of the river to their assistance before they could have mastered them, there being two or three of the best ships of the royal navy, which would have made a very notable resistance. But this being never urged by himself, and had been too much for him to have taken upon himself, it was imputed to his cowardice, of which the seamen as well as the courtiers accused him, though, as was generally thought, without reason, and only with prejudice to the man for what he had done before, and because he was a man of a regular and orderly course of life and command, and of very few words, and less passion than at that time raised men to reputation in that county. There was only one man in the council of whom nobody spoke ill, nor laid any thing to his charge; and that was the lord Hopton. But there was then such a combination, by the countenance of prince Rupert with all the other lords of the Court and the Attorney General, upon former grudges, to undervalue him, that they had drawn the Prince himself to have a less esteem of him than his singular virtue and fidelity, and his unquestionable courage and industry, (all which his enemies could not deny that he excelled in,) did deserve.

85. And in this state the Court was when the two new councillors came; who quickly discerned, by the unsteady humours and strong passions all men were possessed with, that they should not preserve the reputation they seemed to have with every body for the present, any long time, and foresaw that necessity would presently break in upon them like an armed man, that would disturb and distract all their counsels. And there was even at the instant in which they arrived at the Hague that fatal advertisement of that defeat of the Scots' army which must break all their measures, and render the condition of the Prince and of the whole kingdom very deplorable, and leave that of the King his father in the utmost despair.

86. The rumour of this defeat came to the Hague next day

after the Prince came thither, but not so particularly that the extent of it was known, or the tragical effects yet throughly understood. And his highness appointing his council to meet together the next morning after the lord Cottington and the Chancellor [of the Exchequer] came thither, he informed them of the lord Latherdale's message to him from the Parliament of Scotland, and that he very earnestly pressed him, even since the news of the defeat, that he would forthwith repair to their army; and his highness thought fit that the earl should give an account of his commission at the board. 1648 Sept. $\frac{8}{18}$.

87. And thereupon he was sent for in, and, that all respect might be shewed to the Parliament of Scotland, he had a chair allowed him to sit upon. He first read his commission from the Parliament, and then the letter which the Parliament had writ to the Prince; in which, having at large magnified the great affection of the Parliament, that, out of [their[1]] native and constant affection and duty to their King, and finding that, contrary to the duty of subjects, his majesty was imprisoned by the traitorous and rebellious army in England, had raised an army within that kingdom, that, since their advice, counsel, and entreaty in an amicable way, could not prevail, might by force redeem his majesty's person from that captivity, which they held themselves obliged by their solemn League and Covenant to endeavour to do, with the hazard of their lives and fortunes: that this army was already entered into England, under the command of James duke of Hambleton, whom, in respect of his known and eminent fidelity to his majesty, they had made general thereof; and having now done all that was in their power to do for the present, and having taken due care for the seasonable supply and recruit of that army, they now sent to his highness, that he would with all possible speed, according to the promise which the King his father had made, transport his royal person, that he might himself be in the head of that army to obtain the liberty of his father; and they desired him, that, for the circumstances of his journey, he would be advised by the earl of Latherdale, to whom they had given full in-

[1] ['the,' MS.]

1648 structions, and whom they besought his highness to give credit to in all things.

88. The earl likewise shewed his instructions, by which none of the Prince his chaplains were to be admitted to attend him, and great care to be taken that none but godly men should be suffered to be about the person of his highness; and particularly that neither prince Rupert nor the Chancellor of the Exchequer, nor some other persons, should be permitted to go with the Prince. And after these things were read and enlarged upon, he pressed the Prince, with all imaginable instance, and without taking notice of any thing that was befallen their army in England, of which he could not be without a particular relation, that he would lose no time from entering upon his journey; and all this with as insolent and supercilious behaviour as if their army had been triumphant.

89. When he had said all he meant to say, he sat still, as if he expected to hear what the Prince or any body else would say to what he proposed. It was then moved, that, if he had no more to say, he would withdraw, to the end that the council might debate the matter before they gave their advice to the Prince. He took this motion very ill; said he was a privy councillor to the King in Scotland, and, being likewise a commissioner from the Parliament, he ought not to be excluded from any debate that concerned the affair upon which he was employed. And this he urged in so imperious and offensive a manner that drew on much sharpness; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who knew him very well since the treaty at Uxbridge, where they had often differed in matters of the highest importance, treated him with the same liberty they had been accustomed to. He told him he meant not to say any thing in that debate when he should be withdrawn that he desired should be concealed from him, or unheard by him; and that he was ready to say that, in his judgment, all he had proposed was very unreasonable; but he would not that the dignity of the board should be prostituted to his demand, and that he should be present there at any debate. He replied, that he was sent by the Parliament and kingdom of Scotland to the

Prince of Wales, and that he did protest against having any 1648
thing he proposed to be treated and debated by or before the English board, nor did he consider what was or should be said by any man but the Prince himself. The Prince told him that it was necessary that he should hear and know what the opinion of the council should be, and that it was as unreasonable that he should be present; and thereupon commanded him to withdraw; which he presently submitted to with indecency enough. The Prince then told them, that there were some persons come to the town last night, who came out of England after the news of the victory came to London with all the circumstances thereof, and of the duke's being taken prisoner; and that the Prince of Aurange had told him that the States had received intelligence of it from their ambassador Newport, who resided in London. Upon the whole matter, the Prince resolved to meet again the next morning to consult farther what he was to do, and in the mean time the intelligence would be more perfect and unquestionable, and they should see whether Latherdale would take any notice of it.

90. But the night made no alteration in him; he appeared the next morning with the same confidence, and the same importunity for the Prince to remove and begin his journey. He was asked whether he had received no information of some ill fortune that had befallen that army, which might so change the case since he left Scotland, that [what] might then be fit would be now unfit and uncounsellable? He said he knew well what the news was from England, and, whatever he hoped, that he was not confident that it was not true: however, he hoped that would not change the Prince's purpose, but that it would more concern him to pursue the resolution he was formerly obliged to; that if any misfortune had befallen the army, the Prince had the more reason to endeavour to repair it, which could be done no other way than by his making all possible haste into Scotland; which remained still a kingdom entire, wholly devoted to his service, and that by the benefit of his presence might quickly draw together another army, towards which there was a good beginning already by the preservation of that body

1648 under Mountroe: that if his highness should decline this only probable way to preserve himself, and to recover his other two kingdoms, it would be thought that he had little zeal for the liberty of his father, and as little for his own interest and for the preservation of the Crown: and therefore he besought his highness that he would cause some of his ships to be forthwith made ready, and that he would therein immediately transport himself into Scotland; whereby the late wound would in a short time be healed, which would otherwise prove incurable.

91. But Scotland was so well known, and the power of Arguyle, (which must be now greater than ever by the total defeat of the contrary party,) that his proposition was by all dispassionate men thought to be very extravagant, and not to be hearkened unto: and the news from London that Cromwell was marched into Scotland with his whole army, confirmed every honest man in that opinion. And within few days the earl of Latherdale seemed rather to think of going thither himself, where his own concernments were in great danger, than of pressing the Prince to so hazardous a voyage; and after a few weeks more stay at the Hague, upon the intelligence from his friends in Scotland how affairs went there, he returned thither in the same ship that transported him from thence, and with as much rage and malice against the council about the Prince as against Cromwell himself.

92[1]. The wonderful defeat of the Scots' army at Preston, though it was not believed to be an entire victory over the whole body, there being double that number that was not there and that marched from thence, broke or disappointed most of the designs which were on foot for raising men in those northern counties for the King's service, and to have joined and united under sir Marmaduke Langdale. Sir Thomas Tildesly, (a gentleman of a fair estate, and who had served the King from the beginning of the war with good courage,) was then with a body of English, with which he had besieged the castle of Lancaster, and was upon the point of reducing it when the news of Preston arrived. It was then necessary to quit that

[1] [*Hist.*, p. 4.]

design; and hearing that major general Mountroe, who shortly after the duke marched out of Scotland followed him with a recruit of above six thousand horse and foot, was come to the skirts of Lancashire, he retired thither to him, having gathered up many of sir Marmaduke Langdale's men, who had broken at Preston, and some others who had been newly levied. Sir Thomas Tildesly moved Mountroe, that his forces, and some regiments of Scots who yet remained about Kendal, might join with the English under his command, and march together towards Preston, and follow Cromwell in the rear, as he pursued the Scots: which they might very well have done, being a body, when in conjunction, of above eight thousand men, which was superior in number to the army under Cromwell. But the major general would not consent to the motion, but retired to the farther part of Westmoreland, and the English followed them in the rear; presuming that though they would not be persuaded to advance after Cromwell, yet that they would choose some other more convenient post to make a stand in, if the enemy followed them, and then that they would be glad to make a conjunction with them: to which he was pressed again the next day, but continued still fixt in his sullen resolution, without declaring what he meant to do; but retired through Cumberland, where he had left a sad remembrance of his having passed that way few days before, and having then raised vast sums of money upon the poor people, and now in his retreat plundered almost all that he had left. 1648

93. The English marched into the bishopric of Durham, to join with such new levies as were then raising there; and their number being increased by the addition of those troops which were under the command of sir Harry Bellingham, they met again major general Mountroe in Northumberland, and desired him that they might unite together against the common enemy, who equally desired both their destructions. But he resolutely refused, and told them plainly that he would march directly into Scotland, and expect orders there; which he did with all possible expedition. Sept. 10.

94. Sir Philip Musgrave believed that he and his foot might

1648 be welcome to Carlisle; and went thither, and sent sir Harry Bellingham, sir Robert Strickland, and colonel Chater, to the earl of Lanricke, and offered that they should carry their troops into Scotland to join with him; who he knew well would stand in need of help. But he durst not accept their motion, and said, if he should, Arguyle would from thence take an excuse to invite Cromwell, who they heard was then upon his march towards Barwick, to bring his army into Scotland: upon which sir Harry Bellingham returned with the party he commanded into Cumberland, paying for all they had, through that part of Scotland it was necessary for them to pass through.

95. Sir Philip Musgrave had no better success with sir William Leveston, the governor of Carlisle; for though he received him very civilly, and entered into a treaty with him, (for he knew well enough that he was not able to victual or defend the place without the assistance of the English, and therefore desired the assistance of sir Philip in both,) [yet[1]] when articles were agreed upon and signed by sir Philip Musgrave, the governor fell back, and refused to engage himself not to deliver up the garrison without the consent of sir Philip Musgrave; who was contented that none of his men should come within the walls, until it should be most apparent that they could no longer keep the field.

Sept. 15. 96. Within a short time after, orders were sent out of Scotland for the delivery of Barwick and Carlisle[2] to the Parliament; in which orders there was not the least mention of making condition[s] for the English. Sir Philip Musgrave had yet Appleby castle in his own possession, having taken it after he had delivered Carlisle to duke Hambleton, and after he was marched from thence. And by this good accident, upon the

Oct. 9. delivery of it up, which could not long have made any defence, he made conditions for himself and one hundred and fifty officers, many of them gentlemen of quality who lived again to venture and lose their lives for the King: and then soon after he transported himself into Holland.

[1] ['but,' MS.]

[2] [Berwick was surrendered on Sept. 30, and Carlisle on Oct. 1.]

97[1]. Cromwell resolved to lose no advantage he had got, but as soon as he had perfected his defeat of duke Hambleton by gathering up as many prisoners as he could of the dispersed troops, he marched directly towards Scotland, to pull up the roots there from which any farther trouble might spring hereafter; though he was very earnestly called upon from Yorkshire to reduce those at Pomfrett castle, which grew very formidable to all their neighbours, and, not satisfied with drawing contributions from all the parts adjacent, they made excursions into places at a great distance, and took [some[2]] substantial men prisoners, and carried them to the castle, where they remained till they redeemed themselves by great ransoms. However, he would not defer his northern march, but, believing that he should be in a short time capable to take vengeance upon those affronts, he satisfied himself in sending colonel Raynsborough, with some troops of horse and foot, to restrain their adventures and to keep them blocked up; and himself with the rest of his army continued their march for Scotland, it being about the end of August or beginning of September, before the harvest of that country was yet ripe, and so capable of being destroyed. 1648

98. It was generally believed that the marquis of Arguyle earnestly invited him to this progress; for the defeat of the Scots' army in England had not yet enough made him master of Scotland. There was still a committee of Parliament sitting at Edenborough, in which, and in the Council, the earl of Lanricke swayed without a rival; and the troops which had been raised under Mountroe for the recruit of the duke's army were still together, and at the earl's devotion; so that the marquis was still upon his good behaviour. If he had not invited Cromwell, he was very glad of his coming, and made all possible haste to bid him welcome upon his entering into the kingdom. They made great shows of being mutually glad to see each other, who were linked together by many promises and professions, and by an entire conjunction in guilt.

99. There was no act of hostility committed; Cromwell declaring that he came with his army to preserve the godly party,

[1] [*Life*, p. 361.] [2] ['such,' MS.]

1648 and to free the kingdom from a force which it was under of malignant men, who had forced the nation to break their friendship with their brethren of England, who had been so faithful to them; that, it having pleased God to defeat that army under duke Hambleton who endeavoured to engage the two nations in each other's blood, he was come thither to prevent any farther mischieve, and to remove those from authority who had used their power so ill; and that he hoped he should in very few days return with an assurance of the brotherly affection of that kingdom to the Parliament of England, which did not desire in any degree to invade their liberties or infringe their privileges. He was conducted to Edenborough by the
Oct. 4. marquis of Arguyle, where he was received with all solemnity, and the respect due to the deliverer of their country, and his army quartered about, and supplied with all provisions the country could yield.

100. The earl of Lanricke and all the Hambletonian faction (that is, all who had a mind to continue of it,) were withdrawn, and out of reach; and they who remained at Edenborough were resolved to obey Arguyle, who they saw could protect them. And then there were enough left of the committee of Parliament to take care of the safety and good of the kingdom, without putting Cromwell to help them by the power of the English; which would have been a great discredit to their government. Whilst he remained their guest, (whom they entertained magnificently,) Arguyle was able by the laws of Scotland to reform all that was amiss, and preserve the government upon the true foundation. So the committee of Parliament sent to Mountroe an order and command to disband his troops; which when he seemed resolved not to do, he quickly discerned that Cromwell must be arbitrator; and thereupon he observed the orders of the committee very punctually. So that there was no power in Scotland that could oppose the command of Arguyle; the committee of Parliament, the Council, all the magistrates of Edenborough, were at his devotion; and whoever were not so were either in prison or fled. The pulpits were full of invectives against the sinfulness of the late Engage-

ment, and solemn fasts enjoined by the Assembly to implore 1648
God's pardon and forgiveness for that heinous transgression; the Chancellor giving the good example, by making his recantation and humble submission with many tears. Cromwell had reason to believe that it would henceforward prove as peaceable a kingdom as he could wish; and having therefore concerted all things with his bosom friend Arguyle, (who resolved, as soon as he was withdrawn a distance from Edenborough that he and his army might not be thought to have an influence upon the councils, to call the Parliament to confirm all he should think fit to do,) he returned for England, where he thought his presence was like to be wanted.

101. The committee of Parliament at Edenborough (who had authority to convene the Parliament when the major part of them should please, care having been taken in the nomination of them, that they were such as were thought most like to pursue the way they were entered into) sent out their summons to call the Parliament. And they who appeared were of another mind from what they had been formerly, and with the same passion and zeal with which they had entered into the Engagement, they now declared it unlawful and ungodly; and the Assembly joining with them, they excommunicated all who had Oct. 6.
the most eminent parts in promoting it, and made them in- Dec. 4.
capable of bearing any office in the State, or of sitting in Council or in Parliament; subjecting those who had sinned in a less degree to such penalties as would for ever make them subject to their government. And by these judgments, amongst 1649
others, the earl of Lanricke was deprived of being Secretary of Feb. 13.
State, and that office was conferred upon the earl of Lothian; March 10.
who, in the beginning of the rebellion, had been employed by the conspirators into France, and coming afterwards into England was imprisoned thereupon, and being after set at liberty continued amongst those who, upon all occasions, carried the rebellion highest and shewed the most implacable malice to the person of the King. And by this time Arguyle was so much more become master of Scotland than Cromwell was of England that he had not so much as the shadow of a Parliament to

1648 contend or to comply with, or a necessity to exercise his known great talent of dissimulation, all men doing as he enjoined them, without asking the reason of his direction.

102. When the earl of Norwich and the lord Capell with the Kentish and Essex troops were enclosed in Colchester, their friends could not reasonably hope that the Scotch army, which had so long deferred their march into England contrary to their promise, would, though they were now come in, march fast enough to relieve Colchester before they should be reduced by famine. The earl of Holland thought it necessary, since many who were in Colchester had engaged themselves upon his promises and authority, now to begin his enterprise; to which the youth and warmth of the duke of Buckingham, who was general of the horse, the lord Francis Villiers his brother, and divers other young noblemen, spurred him on. And he might have the better opinion of his interest and party, in that his purpose of rising, and putting himself into arms for the relief of Colchester, was so far from being a secret that it was the common discourse of the town; a great appearance every morning at his lodging of those officers who were known to have served the King; his commissions shewed in many hands; and no question being more commonly asked than, 'When doth my lord Holland go out?' and the answer, 'Such and such a day.' And the hour he did take horse, when he was accompanied by an hundred horse from his house, was publicly talked of two or three days before.

July 5. 103. His first rendezvous was Kingston upon Thames; where he stayed two nights and one whole day, expecting a great resort to him, not only of officers, but of common men, who had promised, and listed themselves under several officers; and he imputed the security he had enjoyed so long, notwithstanding his purpose was so generally known, to the apprehension both the Parliament and the army had of the affections of the city to join with him; and he did believe that he should not only remain secure at Kingston as long as he should think fit to stay there, but that some entire regiments of the city would march out with him for the relief of Colchester.

104. During the short stay he made at Kingston, some 1648
officers and soldiers, both of horse and foot, came thither; and many persons of honour and quality, in their coaches, came to visit him and his company from London, and returned thither again, to provide what was still wanting, and resolved to be with him soon enough. The principal officer the earl relied upon (though he had better) was Dalbeer, a Dutchman of name and reputation, and good experience in war; who had served the Parliament as commissary general of the horse under the earl of Essex, and, having been left out in the new model, was amongst those discontented officers who looked for an opportunity to be revenged on the army, which they despised for their ill breeding and much preaching. And thus Dalbeer was glad to depend upon the earl of Holland, who thought himself likewise happy in such an officer. The keeping good guards, and sending out parties towards the Kentish parts, where it was known some troops remained since the last commotion there, was committed to his care. But he discharged it so ill, or his orders were so ill observed, that the second or third morning after their coming thither, some troops of horse under July 7.
the command of colonel Rich (eminent for praying but of no fame for fighting) fell into the town, before those within had notice to be ready to receive them; the earl and most of the rest making too much haste out of the town, and never offering to charge those troops. And in this confusion the lord Francis Villiers, (a youth of rare beauty and comeliness of person,) not being upon his horse so soon as the rest, or endeavouring to make some resistance, was unfortunately killed, with one or two more of little note. Most of the foot made a shift to conceal themselves, and some officers, until they found means to retire to their close mansions in London. The earl with near a hundred horse (the rest wisely taking the way to London, where they were never inquired after) wandered without purpose or design, and was, two or three days after, beset in an inn at St. Needs in Huntingtonshire by those few horse who pursued July 10.
him, where the earl delivered himself prisoner to the officer without resistance; yet at the same time Dalbeer and Kellam

1648 Digby, the eldest son of sir Kellam, were killed upon the place; whether out of former grudges, or that they offered to defend themselves, was not known. The duke of Buckingham had severed himself before from them, and happily found a way into London, where he concealed himself till he had an opportunity to secure himself by being transported into Holland, where the Prince was, who received him with great grace and kindness. The earl of Holland remained prisoner in the place where he was taken, until by order from the Parliament he was sent to
July 12. Windsor Castle[1], where, notwithstanding that he was Constable of it, he was kept prisoner with great strictness.

105. The total defeat of the Scots' army within very few days succeeds this; and when those noble persons within Colchester were advertised of both, they knew well that there was no possibility of relieve, nor could they expect it longer, being pressed with want of all kind of victual, and having eaten near
Aug. 24. all their horses; so that they sent to Fayrefax, to treat about the delivery of the town upon reasonable conditions; but he refused to treat, or to give any conditions, if they would not render to mercy all the officers and gentlemen; the common soldiers they were contented to dismiss. They spent a day or two in deliberation; proposed the making a brisk sally, and thereby to shift for themselves, as many as could; but they had too few horse[s], and the few that were left uneaten were too weak for that enterprise. Then, that they would open a port, and every man die with their arms in their hands; but that way they could only be sure of being killed, without hurting their adversaries, who had ways enough securely to assault
Aug. 27. them. Whereupon they were in the end obliged to deliver
Aug. 28. themselves up prisoners at mercy; and were thereupon, all the officers and gentlemen, led into the public hall of the town, where they were locked up, and a strong guard set upon them. They were required presently to send a list of all their names to the general, which they presently did; and, within a short time after, a guard was sent to bring sir Charles Lucas and sir George Lysle and sir Bernard Gascoigne to the general, who

[1] [to Warwick Castle.]

being sat with his council of war, they were carried in, and in 1648
a very short discourse told, that after so long and so obstinate a defence, until they found it necessary to deliver themselves up to mercy, it was necessary, for the example of others, and that the peace of the kingdom might be no more disturbed in that manner, that some military justice should be executed; and therefore that council had determined that they three should be presently shot to death, for which they were advised to prepare themselves; and without considering or hearing what they had a mind to say for themselves, they were led into a yard that was contiguous, where they found three files of musketeers, ready for their despatch.

106. Sir Bernard Gascoigne[1] (who was a gentleman of Florence who had served the King in the war, and afterwards remained in London till the unhappy adventure of Colchester, and then accompanied his friends thither) had only English enough to make himself understood that he desired a pen and ink and paper, that he might write a letter to his prince, the Great Duke, that his highness might know in what manner he lost his life, to the end his heirs might possess his estate. The officer that attended the execution thought fit to acquaint the general and council, without which he durst not allow him pen and ink, which he thought he might reasonably demand. When they were informed of it, they thought it a matter worthy some consideration; they had chosen him out of the list for his quality, conceiving him to be an English gentleman, and preferred him for being a knight, that they might sacrifice three of that rank.

107. This delay brought the news of this bloody resolution to the prisoners in the town, who were infinitely afflicted with it; and the lord Capell prevailed with an officer, or soldier, of their guard, to carry a letter, signed by the chief persons and officers, and in the name of the rest, for not losing time, to the general; in which they took notice of that judgment, and desired him either to forbear the execution of it, or that they might all, who were equally guilty with those three, undergo

[1] [*i.e.* Guasconi.]

1648 the same sentence with them. The letter was delivered, but had no other effect than the sending to the officer to despatch his order, reserving the Italian to the last. Sir Charles Lucas was their first work, who fell dead; upon which George Lysle ran to him, embraced and kissed him, and then stood up, and looked those who were to execute him in the face; and thinking they stood at too great a distance, spake to them to come nearer; to which one of them said, 'I'll warrant you, sir, we'll hit you:' to which he answered smiling, 'Friends, I have been nearer you when you have missed me.' And thereupon they all fired upon him, and did their work home, so that he fell down dead of many wounds without speaking word. Sir Bernard Gascoigne had his doublet off, and expected the next salvo; but the officer told him he had order to carry him back to his friends, which at that time was very indifferent to him. The council had considered, that if they should in this manner have taken the life of a foreigner, who seemed to be a person of quality, their friends or children who should visit Italy might pay dear for many generations; and therefore they commanded the officer, when the other two should be dead, to carry him back again to the other prisoners.

108. The two who were thus murdered were men of great name and esteem in the war; the one being held as good a commander of horse, and the other of foot, as the nation had; but of very different tempers and humours. Lucas was the younger brother to the lord Lucas, and his heir both to the honour and estate, and had a present fortune of his own. He had been bred in the Low Countries, and always amongst the horse, so that he had little conversation in that Court, where great civility was practised and learned. He was very brave in his person, and in a day of battle a gallant man to look upon and follow; but at all other times and places, of a nature not to be lived with, an ill understanding, a rough and a proud nature, which made him during the time of their being in Colchester more intolerable than the siege, or any fortune that threatened them; yet they all desired to accompany him in his death. Lysle was a gentleman who had had the same education

with the other, and at the same time an officer of foot; had all 1648
the courage of the other, and led his men to a battle with such an alacrity that no man was ever better followed, his soldiers never forsaking him; and the *tertia* which he commanded never left any thing undone which he led them upon. But then, to this fierceness of courage, he had the softest and most gentle nature imaginable; loved all, and beloved of all, and without a capacity to have an enemy.

109. The manner of taking the lives of these worthy men was new and without example, and concluded by most men to be very barbarous, and was generally imputed to Ireton, who swayed the general, and was upon all occasions of an unmerciful and bloody nature. As soon as this bloody sacrifice was ended, Fayrefax, with his chief officers, went to the town-house to visit the prisoners; and the general (who was an ill orator in the most plausible occasion) applied with his civility to the earl of Norwich and the lord Capell; and, seeming in some degree to excuse the having done that which he said military justice did require, he told them that all the lives of the rest were safe; and that they should be well treated, and disposed of as the Parliament should direct. The lord Capell had not so soon digested[1] this so late barbarous proceeding, as to receive the visit of those who caused it with such a return as his condition might have prompted him, but said that they should do well to finish their work, and execute the same rigour to the rest; upon which there were two or three such sharp and bitter replies between him and Ireton, that cost him his life in few months after. When the general had given notice to the Parliament of his proceedings, he received order to send the earl of Norwich and the lord Capell Aug. 31.
to Windsor castle, where they had the society of the earl of Holland to lament each other's misfortunes; and after some time they were all sent to the Tower[2].

110[3]. Though the city had undergone so many severe mortifications that it might very well have been discouraged from

[1] ['disgested,' MS., and so in other places.]

[2] [Capel on Oct. 24 and Goring on Nov. 13.]

[3] [*Hist.* p. 5.]

1648 entering into any more dangerous engagements, at least all other people might have been terrified from depending again upon such engagements, yet the present fright was no sooner over than they recovered new spirits for new undertakings, and seemed always to have observed somewhat in the last miscarriage which would be hereafter prevented, and no more obstruct their future proceedings; and many in the Parliament, as well as in the city, who were controlled and dispirited by the presence of the army, when that was at a distance appeared resolute and brisk in any contradiction and opposition of their counsels. And so Cromwell had no sooner begun his march towards the north, and Fayrefax into Kent, but the Common
July 5. Council delivered a petition to the Parliament that they would entertain a personal treaty with the King, that the kingdom might be restored again to a happy peace, which could be hoped for no other way. And this was the first presumption that had been offered since their vote of 'No more addresses' to be made to the King; which had been near two years before[1]; and this seemed to be made with so universal a concurrence of the city, that the Parliament durst not give a positive refusal to it, and in truth the major part thereof did really desire the same thing; which made sir Harry Vane, and that party in the Parliament which adhered to the army, or to which the army adhered, rather to contrive some specious way to defer and delay it by seeming to consent to it, than to oppose the motion. And therefore they appointed a committee
July 5. of the House of Commons to meet with such a committee of the Common Council as they should make choice of, to confer together of the ways and means to provide for the King's safety and security during the time of the treaty. Which committee being met together, that of the House of Commons perplexed the other with many questions; what they meant by those expressions they used in their petition, (and had been the common expressions, long used both by the King and the Parliament, in all application[s] which had concerned a treaty,) that his majesty might treat with honour, freedom, and safety?

[1 six months before, on Jan. 3.]

what they intended by those words? and whether the city 1648
would be at the charge in maintaining those guards which were to be kept for the security of the King during such treaty; and that if the King should in that treaty refuse to give the Parliament satisfaction, how his person should be disposed of? and many such questions, to which they well knew that the committee itself could make no answer, but that there must be another Common Council called, to which they must repair for directions. And by this means, and administering new questions at every meeting, much time was spent, and the delays they wished could not be avoided. So that notwithstanding all their clamours that the treaty might be presently entered upon, much time was spent, and the insurrection in Kent and the design of the earl of Holland (to both which they had promised another kind of assistance) were both disappointed and expired. However, the Prince was still in the Downs with his fleet, and the gentlemen in Colchester defended themselves resolutely, and the Scots' army was entered the kingdom, all which kept [up] their courage; insomuch as, after all the delays, the Parliament consented, and declared that they would enter into a personal treaty with the King for the settling the peace of the kingdom; but that the treaty should Aug. 1.
be in the Isle of Wight, where his majesty should enjoy honour, freedom, and safety.

111. The city had offered before to the committee upon some July 11.
of the questions which had been administered to them, that if the treaty might be in London they would be at the charge of maintaining those guards which should be necessary for the safety and security of the King; and therefore they were very much troubled that it should be now in the Isle of Wight, upon which they could have no influence; yet they thought not fit to make any new instances for change of the place, lest the Parliament might recede from their vote that there should be a treaty entered upon. And so they only renewed their importunity that all expedition might be used; and in spite of all delays, in the beginning of August a committee was Aug. 2.
sent from both Houses to the King, to the castle of Carisbrooke,

1648 where he had been close shut up within few months of two years[1], without being suffered to speak with any but such who were appointed by them to attend and watch him.

112. The message that the committee delivered was, That the Houses did desire a treaty with his majesty in what place of the Isle of Wight he would appoint, upon the propositions tendered to him at Hampton Court, and such other propositions as they should cause to be presented to him; and that his majesty should enjoy honour, freedom, and safety to his person. The messengers, who were one of the House of Peers and two commoners, were to return within ten days, nobody being strict in the limitation of time, because the treaty was so much the longer kept off, which they hoped still would by some accident be prevented.

Aug. 5. 113. The King received them very graciously, and told them, they could not believe that [any][2] man could desire a peace more heartily than himself, because no man suffered so much by the want of it: that though he was without any man to consult with, and without a secretary to write what he should dictate, yet they should not be put to stay long for an answer; which Aug. 10. he gave them within two or three days, all written in his own hand; in which, after he had lamented his present condition and the extreme restraint, he said he did very cheerfully embrace their motion, and accepted a treaty which they promised should be with honour, freedom, and safety; which he hoped they did really intend should be performed; for that, in the condition he was in, he was so totally ignorant and uninformed of the present state of all his dominions, that a blind man was as fit to judge of colours as he was to treat concerning the peace of the kingdom, except they would first revoke their votes and orders by which all men were prohibited and forbid to come, write, or speak to him. For the place, he could have wished, for the expedition that would have resulted from thence, that it might have been in or near London, to the end that the Parliament's resolution and determination might have been sooner known upon any emergent occasion that

[1] [much less than one year.] [2] ['no,' MS.]

might have grown in the treaty than it [could][1] be at such a distance: however, since they had resolved that it should be in the Isle of Wight, he would not except against it, but named the town of Newport for the place of the treaty. He said, though he desired all expedition might be used towards the beginning and ending the treaty, yet he should not think himself in any freedom to treat, except, before the treaty begin, all such persons might have liberty to repair to him whose advice and assistance he should stand in need of in the treaty. He sent a list of the names of those his servants which he desired might be admitted to come to him and attend upon him; whereof the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hartford, the earls of Southampton and Lyndsey, were the chief; all four, gentlemen of his bedchamber and of his Privy Council. He named likewise all the other servants whose attendance he desired in their several offices. He sent a list of the names of several bishops and of such of his chaplains as he desired to confer with, and of many common lawyers, and some civilians, whose advice he might have occasion to use, and desired that he might be in the same state of freedom as he enjoyed whilst he had been at Hampton Court. 1648

114. By the time that the commissioners returned from the Isle of Wight, and delivered this answer to the Parliament, news was brought of the defeat of the Scots' army, and Cromwell had written to his friends, what a perpetual ignominy it would be to the Parliament, and that nobody abroad or at home would ever give credit to them, if they should recede from their former vote and declaration of no farther address to the King, and conjured them to continue firm in that resolution. But they had gone too far now to recede; and since the first motion and petition from the Common Council for a treaty, very many members, who had opposed the votes and declaration of 'No more address,' and from the time that had passed had forborne ever to be present in the Parliament, upon the first mention of a treaty flocked again to the House, and advanced that overture; so that they were much superior in number to those who endeavoured first to obstruct Aug. 14.

[1] ['can,' MS.]

1648 and delay, and now hoped absolutely to frustrate, all that had been towards a treaty. And the great victory which had been obtained against the Scots, and which they concluded must speedily reduce Colchester, and put a quick period to all other attempts against the Parliament, made them more earnest and solicitous for a treaty; which was all the hope left to prevent that confusion which they discerned was the purpose of the army to bring upon the kingdom: and so with the more vigour they pressed that satisfaction might be given to the King in all that he had proposed in his answer; and, notwithstanding all opposition, it was declared that the vote for
Aug. 17. 'No more addresses' should stand repealed: that the treaty should be at Newport, and that his majesty should be there in the same freedom in which he was at Hampton Court; that the instructions to colonel Hammond, by which the King had been in that manner restrained, and all persons restrained from going to him, should be recalled; that all those persons who were named by the King should have free liberty to repair to him, and to remain with him without being questioned or
Aug. 19. troubled. And having proceeded thus far, they nominated a committee of five lords and ten commoners to be the commissioners who should treat with the King, and who were enjoined to prepare all things to be in readiness for the treaty with all possible expedition; but the lord Say and sir Harry Vane being two of those commissioners, they used all their arts to obstruct and delay it, in hope that Cromwell would despatch his affairs in Scotland time enough to return, and to use more effectual and powerful arguments against it than they were furnished withal.

115[1]. All these occurrences were very well known to Cromwell, and were the motives which persuaded him to believe that his presence at the Parliament was so necessary to sup-

[1] [*Life*, p. 368; where, in the pagination, 364–367 are by mistake omitted. The following lines are struck out: 'Cromwell heard of all these prosperous successes when he returned from Scotland, and likewise that Pembroke castle had been rendered, and that the three commanders who were taken in it, Laughorne, Powell and Poyer, who had all three served the Parliament very eminently, had cast lots for their lives, and that it came to
April 21. Poyer's turn to die, who was shot accordingly; so that there remained only Pomfret castle out of their obedience.'

press the Presbyterians, who ceased not to vex him at any dis- 1648
tance, that he would not be prevailed with to stay and finish that only work of difficulty that remained to be done, which was the reducing Pomfrett castle, but left Lambert to make an end of it, and to revenge the death of Raynsborough, who had lost his life by that garrison, with some circumstances which deserve to be remembered; as in truth all that adventure in the taking and defending that place should be preserved by a very particular relation, for the honour of all the persons who were engaged in it.

116. When the war had been brought to an end by the reduction of all places and persons which had held for the King, and all men's hopes had been rendered desperate by the imprisonment of the King in the Isle of Wight, those officers and gentlemen who had served whilst there was any service betook themselves generally to the habitations they had in the several countries; where they lived quietly and privately under the insolence of those neighbours who had formerly, by the inferiority of their conditions, submitted to them. When the Parliament had finished the war, they reduced and slighted most of the inland garrisons, the maintenance whereof was very chargeable; yet, by the interest of some person who commanded it, or out of the consideration of the strength and importance of the place, they kept still a garrison in Pomfrett castle, a noble royalty and palace belonging to the Crown, and then part of the Queen's jointure. The situation in itself was very strong, no part whereof was commanded by any other ground: the house very large, with all offices suitable to a princely seat, and though built very near the top of a hill, so that it had the prospect of a great part of the West Riding of Yorkshire and of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, yet it was plentifully supplied with water. Colonel [Cotterell[1],] the governor of this garrison, exercised a very severe jurisdiction over his neighbours of those parts; which were inhabited by many gentlemen and soldiers who had served the King throughout the war, and who were known to retain their old affections, though they lived with all submission to the present government. Upon

[1] [left blank in the MS.]

1648 the least jealousy or humour, these men were frequently sent for, reproached, and sometimes imprisoned by the governor in this garrison, which did not render them the more devoted to him. When there appeared some hopes that the Scots would raise an army for the relief and release of the King, sir Marmaduke Langdale, in his way to Scotland, had visited and conferred with some of his old friends and countrymen, who now lived quietly within some distance of Pomfrett, who informed him of that garrison, the place whereof was well known to him. And he acquainting them with the assurance he had of the resolution [of] the principal persons of that kingdom of Scotland, and that they had invited him to join with them, in order to which he was then going thither, they agreed that when it should appear that one army was raised in Scotland upon that account, which must draw down the Parliament's army into the northern counties, and that there should be risings in other parts of the kingdom, (which the general indisposition and discontent, besides some particular designs, made like to fall out,) that then those gentlemen should endeavour the surprise of that castle, and after they had made themselves strong in it, and provided it with provisions to endure some restraint, they should draw as good a body to them as those countries would yield: and having thus adjusted that design, they settled such a way of correspondence with sir Marmaduke, that they frequently gave him an account and received his directions for their proceeding. And in this disposition they continued quiet, as they had always been; and the governor of the castle lived towards them with less jealousy and more humanity than he had been accustomed to.

117. There was one colonel Morrice, who, being a very young man, had in the beginning of the war been an officer in some regiment of the King's, and out of the folly and impatience of his youth had quitted that service, and engaged himself in the Parliament army, with some circumstances not very commendable; and by the clearness of his courage, and the pleasantness of his humour, made himself not only very acceptable, but was preferred to the command of a colonel, and performed many notable services for them, being a stout and bold undertaker

in attempts of the greatest danger; wherein he had usually success. After the new modelling of the army, and the introducing a stricter discipline, his life of great license kept not his reputation with the new officers; and being a free speaker and censurer of their affected behaviour, they left him out in their compounding their new army, but with many professions of kindness, and respect to his eminent courage, which they would find some occasion to employ and reward. He was a gentleman of a competent estate in those parts of Yorkshire; and as he had grown older, he had heartily detested himself for having quitted the King's service, and had resolved to take some seasonable opportunity to wipe off that blemish by a service that would redeem him; and so was not troubled to be set aside by the new general, but betook himself to his estate, enjoyed his old humour, which was cheerful and pleasant, and made himself most acceptable to those who were most trusted by the Parliament, who thought that they had dismissed one of the best officers they had, and were sorry for it. 1648

118. He now, as a country gentleman, frequented the fairs and markets, and conversed with equal freedom with all his neighbours, of what party soever they had been of, and renewed the friendship he had formerly held with some of those gentlemen who had served the King. But no friendship was so dear to him as that of the governor of Pomfrett castle, who loved him above all men, and delighted so much in his company that he got him to be with him sometimes a week and more at a time in the castle, when they always lay together in one bed. He declared to one of those gentlemen who were united together to make that attempt, that he would surprise that castle whenever they should think the season ripe for it; and that gentleman, who knew him very well, believed him so entirely, that he told his companions that they should not trouble themselves with contriving the means to surprise that place, which by trusting too many would be liable to discovery, but that he would take that charge upon himself, by a way they need not inquire into, and which he assured them should not fail: and they all very willingly acquiesced in his undertaking, to which

1648 they knew he was not inclined without good grounds. Morrice was more frequently with the governor, who never thought himself well without him; and always told him he must have a great care of his garrison, that he had none but faithful men in the castle, for that he was confident there were some men who lived not far off, and who many times came to visit him, had some design upon the place; and would then in confidence name many persons to him, (some whereof were those very men with whom he communicated, and others were men of another temper, and were most devoted to the Parliament, all his particular friends and companions,) but that he should not be troubled; for he had a false brother amongst them, from whom he was sure to have seasonable advertisement; and promised him that he would, within few hours' notice, bring him at any time forty or fifty good men into the castle to reinforce his garrison when there should be occasion; and he would shew him the list of such men as would be always ready, and would sometimes bring some of those men with him, and tell the governor before them that those were in the list he had given him of the honest fellows who would stick to him when there should be need; and others would accidentally tell the governor that they had listed themselves with colonel Morrice, to come to the castle whenever he should call or send to them. And all these men thus listed were fellows very notorious for the bitterness and malice which they had always against the King, not one of which he ever intended to make use of.

119. He made himself very familiar with all the soldiers in the castle, and used to play and drink with them; and when he lay there, would often rise in the night and visit the guards; and by that means would sometimes make the governor dismiss and discharge a soldier whom he did not like, under pretence that he found him always asleep, or some other fault which was not to be examined; and then he would commend some other to him as very fit to be trusted and relied upon; and by this means he had very much power in the garrison. The governor received several letters from his friends in the Parliament and in the country, that he should take care of

colonel Morrice, who resolved to betray him; and informed him 1648
that he had been in such and such company of men, who were generally esteemed most malignant, and had great intrigues with them; all which was well known to the governor; for the other was never in any of that company, though with all the show of secrecy, in the night, or in places remote from any house, but he always told the governor of it, and of many particular passages in those meetings; so that when these letters came to him, he shewed them still to the other, and then both of them laughed at the intelligence; after which Morrice frequently called for his horse, and went home to his house, telling his friend, that though he had, he knew, no mistrust of his friendship, and knew him too well to think him capable of such baseness, yet he ought not for his own sake be thought to slight the information, which would make his friends the less careful of him: that they had reason to give him warning of those meetings, which, if he had not known himself, had been very worthy of his suspicion; therefore he would forbear coming to the castle again till this jealousy of his friends should be over, who would know of this, and be satisfied with it: and no power of the governor could prevail with him at such times to stay, but he would be gone, and stay away till he was after some time sent for again with great importunity, the governor desiring his counsel and assistance as much as his company.

120. It fell out, as it usually doth in affairs of that nature, when many men are engaged, that there is an impatience to execute what is projected before the time be throughly ripe. The business of the fleet, and in Kent and other places, and the daily alarums from Scotland, as if that army had been entering the kingdom, made the gentlemen who were engaged for this enterprise imagine that they deferred it too long, and that though they had received no orders from sir Marmaduke Langdale, which they were to expect, yet that they had been sent, and miscarried. Hereupon they called upon the gentleman who had undertaken, and he upon Morrice, for the execution of the design. The time agreed upon was such a night, when the June 3.
surprisers were to be ready upon such a part of the wall, and

1648 to have ladders to mount in two places, where two soldiers were to be appointed for sentries who were privy to the attempt. Morrice was in the castle, and in bed with the governor, and, according to his custom, rose about the hour he thought all would be ready. They without made the sign agreed upon, and were answered by one of the sentries from the wall; upon which they ran to both places where they were to mount their ladders. By some accident, the other sentry who was designed was not upon the other part of the wall; so that when the ladder was mounted there, the sentry called out, and, finding that there were men under the wall, ran towards the court to call for help; and in his way met Morrice, who, finding him to be a wrong soldier, seemed not to believe him, but took him back with him to shew him the place, and carried him to the top of the wall, nearer, that they might listen; and from thence, being a very strong man, he made a shift to throw the soldier over the wall: and by this time they from without were got upon the wall from both places, and had made their sign to their friends at a distance. With these Morrice went to the court of guard, which was in part prepared, so that with knocking two or three of the other in the head, they became masters there, and opened the port for their friends' horse and foot to enter. Morrice, with two or three gentlemen, went up to the governor's chamber, whom they found in his bed, and told him the castle was surprised, and himself a prisoner. He betook himself to his arms for his defence, but quickly found that his friend had betrayed it, and the other gentlemen appearing, of whom he had been before warned, his defence was to no purpose, yet he received some wounds. Morrice comforted him with assurance of good usage, and that he would procure his pardon [from[1]] the King for his rebellion.

121. They put the garrison in good order, and so many came in to them from Yorkshire, Nottingham, and Lincoln, that they could not in a short time be restrained, and had leisure to fetch in all sorts of provisions for their support, and to make and renew such fortifications as might be necessary for their defence.

[1] ['for,' MS.]

From Nottingham there came sir John Digby, sir Hugh Cart- 1648
eret, and a son and nephew of his, who had been good officers in the army, with many soldiers who had been under their command. Many other gentlemen of the three counties were present, and deserve to have their names recorded, since it was an action throughout of great courage and conduct.

122. Cromwell's marching towards the Scots with neglect of these men after their first appearance, and only appointing some country troops to enclose them from increasing their strength, gave them great opportunity to grow; so that, driving those troops to a greater distance, they drew contribution from all the parts about them, and made incursions much farther, and rendered themselves so terrible, that (as was said before) after the Scots' defeat, those of Yorkshire sent very earnestly to Cromwell, that he would make it the business of his army to reduce them. But he, resolving upon his Scottish expedition, thought it enough to send Raynsborough to perform that service, with a regiment of horse and one or two of foot belonging to the army, which, with a conjunction of the country forces under the same command, he doubted not would be sufficient to perform a greater work. As soon as the castle had been reduced, they who were possessed of it were very willing to be under the command of Morrice; who declared he would not accept the charge, nor be governor of the place: he knew well what jealousies he might be liable to, at least upon any change of fortune: and so, by a general consent, sir John Digby was chosen to be their governor, a man rather cordial in the service than equal to the command; which made him refer all things still to the counsel and conduct of those officers who were under him, by whose activity as much was done as could be expected from such a knot of resolute persons.

123. The total defeat of the Scots' army being now generally known, and that their friends in all other places were defeated, they in the castle well knew what they were presently to expect, and that they should be shortly shut up from making farther excursions. They heard that Raynsborough was upon his march towards them, and had already sent some troops to be quartered

1648 near them, himself yet keeping his headquarter at Doncaster, ten[1] miles from the castle. They resolved, whilst they yet enjoyed this liberty, to make a noble attempt. They had been informed that sir Marmaduke Langdale, (whom they still called their general,) after the overthrow of the Scots' army, had been taken prisoner, and remained in Nottingham castle under a most strict custody, as a man the Parliament declared they would make an example of their justice. Morrice, with a party of twelve horse, and no more, but picked and choice men, went out of the castle in the beginning of the night, with a resolution to take Raynsborough prisoner, and thereby to ransom their general. They were all good guides, and understood the ways private and public very exactly; and went so far, that about
Oct. 29. the break of day or a little after, in the end of [October[2]], they put themselves into the common road that led from York; by which ways the guard expected no enemy, and so slightly asked them, who as negligently and loosely answered, whence they came; and they asked again where their general was, saying, they had a letter for him from Cromwell. And they sent one to shew them where the general was, which they knew well enough, and that he lay at the best inn of the town. And when the gate of the inn was opened to them, three of them only entered into the inn, the other rode to the other end of the town, to the bridge over which they were to pass towards Pomfrett; where they expected and did find a guard of horse and foot, with whom they entertained themselves in discourse, saying that they stayed for their officer, who went only in to speak with the general; and called for some drink. The guard making no question of their being friends, sent for drink, and talked negligently with them of news; and, it being broad day, some of the horse alighted, and the foot went to the court of guard, conceiving that morning's work to be over. They who went into the inn, where nobody was awake but the fellow who opened the gate, asked[3] [in] which chamber the general (for so all the soldiers called Raynsborough) lay; and the fellow shewing them from below the chamber door, two of them went up,

[1] [fifteen.] [2] ['August,' MS.] [3] ['they asked,' MS.]

and the other stayed below, and held the horses, and talked 1648
with the soldier who had walked with them from the guard. The two who went up opened the chamber door, found Raynsborough in his bed, but awaked with the little noise they had made. They told him shortly that he was their prisoner, and that it was in his power to choose whether he would be presently killed, (for which work he saw they were very well prepared,) or quietly, and without making resistance or delay, to put on his clothes, and be mounted upon a horse that was ready below for him, and accompany them to Pomfrett. The present danger awakened him out of the amazement he was in, so that he told them he would wait upon them, and made the haste that was necessary to put on his clothes. One of them took his sword, and so they led him down stairs. He that held the horses had sent the soldier away to those who were gone before, to speak to them to get some drink and any thing else that could be made ready in the house, against they came. When Raynsborough came into the yard, which he expected to find full of horse, and saw only one man, who held the other horses, and presently mounted that he might be bound behind him, he began to struggle and to cry out. Whereupon, when they saw no hope of carrying him away, they immediately ran him through with their swords, and, leaving him dead upon the ground, they got upon their horses, and rode towards their fellows, before any in the inn could be ready to follow them. When those at the bridge saw their companions coming, which was their sign, being well prepared and knowing what they were to do, they turned upon the guard, and killed so many of them that all the rest fled in distraction; so that the way was clear and free; and though they missed carrying home the prize for which they had made so lusty an adventure, they joined together, and marched with the expedition that was necessary a shorter way than they had come, to their garrison; leaving the town and soldiers behind in such a consternation, that, not being able to receive any information from their general, whom they found dead upon the ground without any body in view, they thought the Devil had been there; and

1648 could not recollect themselves which way they were to pursue an enemy they had not seen. The gallant party came safe home without the least damage to horse or man, hoping to make some other attempt more successfully, by which they might redeem sir Marmaduke Langdale. There was not an officer in the army whom Cromwell would not as willingly have lost as this man; who was bold and barbarous to his wish, and fit to be intrusted in the most desperate interest, and was the man whom that party always intended to commit the
§ 30. maritime affairs to (though he had that misfortune in the beginning of the summer) when it should be time to dismiss the earl of Warwick; he having been bred in that element, and knowing the duty of it very well.

Nov. 124. When Lambert came to this charge, instructed by Cromwell to take full vengeance for the loss of Raynsborough, to whose ghost he designed an ample sacrifice, and kept what body of men he thought fit for that purpose, he reduced them in a short time within their own circuit, making good works round about the castle, that they might at last yield to hunger, if nothing else would rest[r]ain them. Nor did they quietly suffer themselves to be cooped up without bold and frequent sallies, in which many of the besiegers, as well as the others, lost their lives. They discovered many of the country who held correspondence with, and gave intelligence to, the castle, [whom[1]] they apprehended, and caused to be hanged in the sight of the castle, whereof there were two divines[2], and some women of note, friends and allies to the besieged. After frequent mortifications of this kind, and no human hope of relief, they were content to offer to treat for the delivery of the castle, if they might have honourable conditions; if not, they sent word that they had provisions yet for a good time, that they durst die, and would sell their lives at as dear a price as they could. Lambert answered, that he knew they were gallant

[1] ['which,' MS.]

[2] [Beaumont, a Roman Catholic priest, was executed in Feb. 1649 for corresponding with the garrison in cipher. Whitlocke's *Memorials* under date of Feb. 19.]

men, and that he desired to preserve as many of them as was [1649]
in his power to do; [but] that he must require six of them to be given up to him, and whose lives he could not save; which he was sorry for, since they were brave men, but his hands were bound. The six excepted by him were sir John Digby, colonel Morrice, and four more whose names he found to have been amongst those who were in the party that had destroyed Raynsborough; which was an enterprise no brave enemy would have revenged in that manner, nor did Lambert desire it, but Cromwell had enjoined him. All the rest he was content to release, that they might return to their houses, and apply themselves to the Parliament for their compositions, towards which he would do them all the good offices he could. They from within acknowledged his civility in that particular, and would be glad to embrace it, but they would never be guilty of so base a thing as to deliver up any of their companions; and therefore they desired they might have six days allowed them, that those six might do the best they could to deliver themselves, in which it should be lawful for the rest to assist them; to which Lambert generously consented, so that the rest would surrender at the end of the six days; which was agreed to. Upon the first of the six days the garrison appeared twice or thrice, as if they were resolved to make a sally, but retired every time without charging; but the second day they made a very strong and brisk sally upon another place than where they had appeared the day before, and beat the enemy from their post, with the loss of men on both sides; and though the party of the castle was beaten back, two of the six (whereof Morrice was one) made their escape, the other four being forced to retire with the rest. And all was quiet for two whole days; but in the beginning of the night of the fourth day, they made another attempt so prosperously, that two of the other four likewise escaped: and the next day they made great shows of joy, and sent Lambert word that their six friends were gone, (though there were two still remaining,) and therefore they would be ready the next day to surrender.

125. The other two thought it to no purpose to make another

[1649] attempt, but devised another way to secure themselves, with a less dangerous assistance from their friends, who had lost some of their own lives in the two former sallies to save theirs. The buildings of the castle were very large and spacious, and there were great store of waste stones from some walls which were fallen down. They found a convenient place, which was like to be least visited, where they walled up their two friends in such a manner that they had air to sustain them and victual enough to feed them a month, in which time they hoped they might be able to escape. And this being done, at the hour
March 20. appointed they opened their ports, and after Lambert had caused a strict inquiry to be made for those six, neither of which he did believe had in truth escaped, and was satisfied that neither of them was amongst those who were come out, he received the rest very civilly, and observed his promise made to them very punctually, and did not seem sorry that the six gallant men (as he called them) were escaped.

126. And now they heard, which very much relieved their broken spirits, that sir Marmaduke Langdale had made an escape out of the castle of Nottingham; who shortly after transported himself beyond the seas. Lambert presently took care so to dismantle the castle, that there should be no more use of it for a garrison, leaving the vast ruins still standing; and then drew off all his troops to new quarters; so that within ten days after the surrender the two who were left walled up threw down their enclosure, and securely provided for themselves. Sir John Digby was one of these, who lived many years after the King's return, and was often with his majesty. Poor Morrice was taken afterwards in Lancashire, and by a wonderful act of Providence was put to death in the same place[1] where he had committed a fault against the King,

[1] [Hanged at York, 23 Aug. 1649. An anonymous account of the seizure of the castle, and of its subsequent siege and surrender, by capt. Tho. Paulden, one of the defenders, whose brothers William and Timothy were also engaged there, is among the Clarendon MSS. It appears from this that Morrice's acquaintanceship was not with the governor Cotterell, but with his predecessor, col. Overton. The account is different from that which was printed several times under Paulden's name.]

and where he first performed a great service to the Parliament. 1648

127. In this desperate condition that is before described stood the King's affairs, when the Prince was at the Hague, with his fleet already mutinying for pay, his family factious and in necessity, and that of his brother the duke of York full of intrigues and designs, between the restless unquiet spirit of Bamfeild and the ambitious and as unquiet humour of sir John Berkely. The council, which was not numerous, (for the Prince had not authority to add any to those who were his father's councillors,) wanted not unity in itself so much as submission and respect from others, which had been lost to those who were in the fleet, and the prejudice to those still remained, and so abated much of the reverence which most men were willing to pay to the two who came last[1]. And the great animosity which prince Rupert had against the lord Culpeper infinitely disturbed the counsels, and perplexed the lord Cottington, and the Chancellor, who had credit enough with the other two; but Culpeper had some passions and infirmities which no friends could restrain; and though the prince [Rupert] was very well inclined to the Chancellor, and would in many things be advised by him, yet his prejudice to Culpeper was so rooted in him, and that prejudice so industriously cultivated by Harbert the Attorney General, who had the absolute ascendant over the prince, and who did perfectly hate all the world that would not be governed by him, that every meeting in council was full of bitterness and sharpness between them.

128. One day the council met (as it used to do when they did not attend the prince [of Wales] at his lodging) at the Lord Treasurer's lodging, (he and the Chancellor being in one house,) about giving direction for the sale of some goods which had been taken at sea, for the raising of money towards the payment of the fleets. In such services merchants and other proper persons were always necessary to be trusted. Prince

[1] [The words 'two who came last' are substituted for 'lord Cottington and the Chancellor.']

1648 Rupert proposed that one Sir Robert Walsh[1] (a person too well known to be trusted) might be trusted in that affair: it was to sell a ship of sugar. No man who was present would ever have consented that he should have been employed; but the lord Culpeper spake against him with some warmth, that might be thought to reflect a little upon prince Rupert, who had proposed him. Upon which, asking what exceptions there were to sir Robert Walsh, why he might not be fit for it, Culpeper answered with some quickness, that he was a known cheat; which, though notoriously true, the prince seemed to take very ill, and said he was his friend, and a gentleman; and if he should come to hear of what had been said, he knew not how the lord Culpeper could avoid fighting with him. Culpeper, whose courage no man doubted, presently replied, that he would not fight with Walsh but he would fight with his highness; to which the prince answered very quietly, that it was well; and the council rose in great perplexity.

129. The prince went out of the house, and the Chancellor led the lord Culpeper into the garden, hoping that he should so far have prevailed with him as to have made him sensible of the excess he had committed, and to have persuaded him presently to have repaired to the prince, and to have asked his pardon, that no more notice might have been taken of it. But he was yet too warm to conceive he had committed any fault, but seemed to think only of making good what he had so imprudently said. The prince quickly informed his confident, the Attorney General, of all that had passed; who was the unfittest man living to be trusted with such a secret, having always about him store of oil to throw upon such fire. He presently found means to make it known to the Prince, who presently sent for the Chancellor to be informed of the whole matter; and when he understood it, was exceedingly troubled, and required him to let Culpeper know that he ought to make a submission to the prince; without which worse would fall out.

130. He went first to the prince, that he might pacify him

[1] ['Wellch' in the MS. here, but 'Walsh' below.]

till he could convince the other of his fault; and he so far prevailed with his highness, who would have been more choleric if he had had less right on his side, that he was willing to receive a submission, and promised that the other should receive no affront in the mean time. But he found more difficulty on the other side, the lord Culpeper continuing still in rage, and thought the provocation was so great that he ought to be excused for the reply, and that the prince ought to acknowledge the one as well as he the other. But after some days' recollection, finding nobody with whom he conversed of his mind, and understanding how much the Prince was displeased, and that he expected he should ask prince Rupert[1] pardon, and withal reflecting upon the place he was in, where he could expect no security from his quality and function, he resolved to do what he ought to have done at first; and so he went with the Chancellor to prince Rupert's lodging, where he behaved himself very well, and the prince received him with all the grace could be expected; so that so ill a business seemed to be as well concluded as the nature of it would admit. But the worst was to come: the Attorney General had done all he could to dissuade the prince from accepting so small and so private a satisfaction; but not prevailing, he inflamed sir Robert Walsh, who had been informed of all that had passed at the council concerning him, to take his own revenge; in which many men thought that he was assured the prince would not be offended. And the next morning after the prince had received satisfaction, as the lord Culpeper was walking to the council without a sword, Walsh came to him, and seemed quietly to expostulate with him for having mentioned him so unkindly. To the which the other answered that he would give him satisfaction in any way he would require, though he ought not to be called in question for any thing he had said in that place. On a sudden, whilst they were in this calm discourse, Walsh struck him with all force one blow in the face with his fist, and then stepped back and drew his sword; but seeing the other had none, walked away; and the lord Culpeper, with his nose

1648

Oct. 30 [N. S.]

[1] [Here, for the first time, Clarendon has written 'Robert.']

1648 and face all bloody, went back to his chamber, from whence he could not go abroad in many days by the effect and disfiguring of the blow. This outrage was committed about ten of the clock in the morning, in the sight of the town; which troubled the Prince exceedingly, who immediately sent to the States to demand justice; and they, according to their method and slow proceedings in matters which they do not take to heart, caused Walsh to be summoned, and after so many days, for want of appearance, he was by the sound of a bell publicly banished from the Hague; and so he made his residence in Amsterdam, or what other place he pleased. And this was the reparation the States gave the Prince for so ruffianly a transgression[1]; and as well the beginning as the end of this unhappy business exposed the Prince himself, as well as his council, to more disadvantage and less reverence than ought to have been paid to either.

131[2]. The improvidence that had been used in the fleet, (besides its unactivity,) by the dismissing so many great prizes, was now too apparent, when there was neither money to pay the seamen, who were not modest in requiring it, nor to new victual the ships, which was as important; since it was easy to be foreseen that they could not remain long in the station where they were for the present; and the extreme license which all men took to censure and reproach that improvidence disturbed all counsels, and made conversation itself very uneasy. Nor was it possible to suppress that license; every man believing that his particular necessities, with which all men abounded, might easily have been relieved and provided for if it had not been for that ill husbandry; which they therefore called treachery and corruption. It cannot be denied that there was so great a treasure taken, which turned to no account, and so much more might have been taken if the several ships had been applied to that end, that a full provision might have been made, both for the support of the fleet and supply of the

[1] [On Nov. 4 (N. S.) the Prince prohibited Walsh's coming any more to Court. The date is misprinted as Nov. 7 in *Cal. Clar. S. P.* I. 444.]

[2] [*Hist.* pp. 7, 8, to the end of § 135.]

Prince and of all who depended upon him, for a good time, 1648
if the same had been well managed, and could have been deposited in some secure place till all might have been sold at good markets. And nobody was satisfied with the reasons which were given for the discharging and dismissing so many ships, to gratify the city of London and the Presbyterian party throughout the kingdom. For, besides that the value of what was so given away and lost was generally believed to be worth more than all they could have done if they had been able, those bounties were not the natural motives which were to be applied to that people, whose affections had been long dead, and could be revived by nothing but by their sharp sufferings and their insupportable losses; the obstruction and destruction of trade, and the seizing upon their estates, was the proper application to the city of London, and the best arguments to make them in love with peace, and to extort it from them in whose power it was to give it. And if the fleet had applied itself to that, and visited all those maritime parts which stood in countries well affected, and where some places had declared for the King, (as Scarborough in Yorkshire,) if it had not been Aug.
possible to have set the King at liberty in the Isle of Wight, or to have relieved Colchester, the fort at Harwich being then declared for the King, (both which many men believed, how unskilfully soever, to be practicable,) it would have spent the time much more advantageously and honourably than it did.

132. But let the ill consequence be never so great, if it had proceeded from any corruption, it would have been discovered by the examination and inquisition that was made; and therefore it may well be concluded that there was none. And the truth is, the Queen was so fully possessed of the purpose and the power of the Scots to do the King's business, before the insurrections in the several parts in England and the revolt of the fleet appeared, that she did not enough weigh the good use that might have been made of those when they did happen, but kept her mind so fixed upon Scotland, as the sole foundation of the King's hopes, that she looked upon the benefit of the fleet's returning to their allegiance only as an opportunity offered by

1648 Providence to transport the Prince with security thither. And her instructions to those she trusted about the Prince were so positive that they should not give consent to any thing that might divert or delay that expedition, that if the earl [of] Latherdale had been arrived when the Prince came to the fleet, it would have been immediately engaged to have transported the Prince into Scotland, what other conveniences soever preferable to that had offered themselves. And the very next day after his coming to the Prince in the Downs, his injunctions and behaviour [were [1]] so imperious for the Prince's present departure, that if a direct mutiny amongst the seamen had not prevented it his highness' own ship was under sail for Holland, that he might from thence have prosecuted his other voyage: nor would he at that time have taken Holland in his way if there had been any quantity of provision in the fleet for such a peregrination. And this expedition for Scotland was the more grievous to all men, because it was evident that the Prince himself was much more inclined to have pursued other occasions which were offered, and only resigned himself implicitly to the pleasure of his mother.

133. The present ill condition of the fleet, and the unsteady humour of the common seamen, was the more notorious and unseasonable, by the earl of Warwick's coming with another fleet from the Parliament upon the coast of Holland, within few days after the Prince came to the Hague, and anchoring within view of the King's fleet. And it is probable he would have made some hostile attempt upon it, well knowing that many officers and seamen were on shore, if the States had not in the very instant sent some of their ships of war to preserve the peace in the port. However, according to the insolence of his masters, and of most of those employed by them, he sent
Sept. 19. a summons of a strange nature to the King's ships, in which he said, he took notice that a fleet of ships which were part of the navy royal of the kingdom of England was then riding at anchor off Helvord Sluce, and [bearing [2]] a standard: that he did therefore, by the Parliament's authority, by which he was

[1] ['was,' MS.] [2] ['to bear,' MS.]

constituted Lord High Admiral of England, require the admiral 1648
or commander in chief of that fleet to take down the standard, and the captains and mariners belonging to the ships to render themselves and the ships to him, as High Admiral of England, and for the use of King and Parliament: and he did, by the like authority, offer an indemnity to all those who should submit to him.

134. [After] which summons, though received by the lord Willoughby, who remained on board the fleet in the command of vice-admiral, with that indignation that was due to it, and though it made no impression upon the officers, nor visibly at that time upon the common men, yet during the time the earl continued in so near a neighbourhood, he did find means by private insinuations, and by sending many of his seamen on shore [at] Helvord Sluce, where they entered into conversation with their old companions, so to work upon and corrupt many of the seamen, that it afterwards appeared many were deboshed, some whereof went on board his ships, others stayed to do more mischief[1]. But that ill neighbourhood continued not long; for the season of the year, and the winds which usually rage on that coast in the month of September, removed him from that station, and carried him back to the Downs to attend new orders.

135. All these disturbances were attended with a worse, which fell out at the same time, and that was the sickness of the Prince; who, after some days' indisposition, appeared to have the smallpox; which almost distracted all who were about him, who knew how much depended upon his precious life: and therefore the consternation was very universal whilst that was thought in danger. But, by the goodness and mercy of God, he recovered in few days the peril of that distemper, and within a month was restored to so perfect health that he was able to take an account himself of his melancholic and perplexed affairs.

136[2]. There were two points which in the first place were to be considered and provided for by the Prince, neither of

[1] [Spelt thus in this place.] [2] [*Life*, p. 373.]

1648 which would bear delay for the consultation and resolution. The first, how to make provision to pay and victual the fleet, and to compose the mutinous spirits of the seamen, who paid no reverence to their officers; insomuch as, in the short stay which the earl of Warwick had made before Helvord Sluce, as hath been said, many of the seamen had gone over to him, and the Constant Warwick, a frigate of the best account, had either voluntarily left the fleet, or suffered itself willingly to be taken and carried away with the rest into England. The other was, what he should do with the fleet, when it was both paid and victualled.

137. Towards the first, there were some ships which had been brought in with the fleet, laden with several merchandise of value, that if they could be sold to the true worth would amount to enough to pay the seamen their wages, and to put in provisions enough to serve four months; and there were many merchants from London who were desirous to buy their own goods, which had been taken from them; and others had commissions from thence to buy the rest. But then they all knew that they could not be carried to any other market, but must be sold in the place where they were; and therefore they were resolved to have very good pennyworths. And there were many debts claimed, which the Prince had promised, whilst he was in the river, should be paid out of the first money that should be raised upon the sale of such and such ships: particularly the Prince believed that the countess of Carlile, who had committed faults enough to the King and Queen, had pawned her necklace of pearl for fifteen hundred pounds, which she had totally disbursed in supplying officers and making other provisions for the expedition of the earl of Holland, which sum of fifteen hundred pounds the Prince had promised the lord Percy her brother (who was a very importunate solicitor) should be paid upon the sale of a ship that was laden with sugar, and was then conceived to be worth above six or seven thousand pounds. Others had the like engagements upon other ships: so that when money was to be raised upon the sale of the merchandise, they who had such engagements

would be themselves intrusted, or nominate those who should, 1648
to make the bargain with the purchasers, to the end that they might be sure to receive what they claimed out of the first moneys that should be raised. And by this means double the value was delivered to satisfy a debt that was not above the half.

138. But that which was worse than all this, the Prince of Aurange advertised the Prince that some questions had been started in the States, what they should do if the Parliament of England (which had now a very dreadful name) should send over to them to demand the restitution of those merchants' goods which had been unjustly taken in the Downs and in the river of Thames, and had been brought into their ports, and were offered to sale there, against the obligation of that amity which had been observed between the two nations during the late war? What answer they should be able to make, or how they could refuse to permit the owners of those goods to make their arrests, and to sue in their Admiralty for the same, which first process would stop the present sale of whatever others pretended a title to, till the right should be determined? The Prince of Aurange said that such questions used not to be started there without design; and therefore advised the Prince to lose no time in making complete sales of all that was to be sold, to the end that they who were engaged in the purchase might likewise be engaged in the defence of it. And upon this ground, as well as the others which have been mentioned, hasty bargains were made with all who desired to buy, and who would not buy except they were sure to be good gainers by all the bargains which they made. Nor could this be prevented by the caution or wisdom of any who were upon the place, with no more authority than they had. Mr. Longe, who was secretary to the Prince, had been possessed of the office of receiving and paying all moneys whilst the Prince was in the fleet, and so could not well be removed from it when he came into Holland: though he was thought to love money too well, yet nobody who loved it less would at that time have submitted to the employment, which exposed him to the importunity and

1648 insolence of all necessitous persons, when he could satisfy none; yet he liked it well, with all the prejudice and disadvantage.

139. As soon as the money was raised, it was sent to the fleet to pay the seamen; and the Prince made a journey to the fleet to see and keep up the spirits of the seamen, who were very mutinous, not without the infusions of some who did not desire they should be too well pleased with their officers. The lord Willoughby stayed on board purely out of duty to the King, though he liked neither the place he had nor the people over whom he was to command, who had yet more respect for him than for any body else. Sir William Batten likewise remained with them, not knowing well how to refuse it, though he had too much reason to be weary of his province, the seamen having contracted an implacable jealousy and malice against him, more than they were naturally inclined to. And the truth is, though there was not any evidence that he had any foul practices, he had an impatient desire to make his peace, and to live in his own country, as afterwards he did with the leave of the King; against whom he never after took employment.

140. The other point to be resolved was yet more difficult; what should be done with the fleet, and who should command it? And though the advertisement the Prince of Aurange had given his royal highness of the question started in the States concerned only the merchants' ships which were made prize, yet it was very easy to discern the logic of that question would extend as well and be applied to those of the royal navy as well as to merchants' ships. And it was evident enough that the United Provinces would not take upon them to determine whether they were in truth the ships of the King or of the Parliament. So that it was only the differences which were yet kept up in the Houses which kept them from being united in that demand. So that the Prince knew that nothing was more necessary than that they [were] gone out of the ports of those provinces, and that they [the States] wished it exceedingly.

141. Whilst Bampfeild was about the person of the duke

[of York,] he had infused into him a marvellous desire to be possessed of the government of the fleet; but he [the duke] was convinced with much ado that it was neither safe for his highness nor for his father's service that he should be embarked in it: and Bampfeild, by an especial command from the King, who had discovered more of his foul practices than could be known to the Prince, was not suffered to come any more near the person of the duke. So he returned into England; where he was never called in question for stealing the duke away. From this time the duke, who was not yet above twelve or thirteen years of age, was so far from desiring to be with the fleet, that when there was once a proposition, upon occasion of a sudden mutiny amongst the seamen, that he should go to Helvord Sluce to appear amongst them, who professed great duty to his highness, he was so offended at it that he would not hear of it; and he had still some servants about him who took pains to persuade him, that the council had persuaded the Prince to that designation out of ill will to his highness, and that the ships might deliver him up to the Parliament. So unpleasant and uncomfortable a province had those persons who, being of the King's Council, served his highness with great fidelity; every body who was unsatisfied (and nobody was satisfied) aspersing them as they thought, or some of them (for their prejudice was not equal to them all) in such a manner as touched the honour of the rest, and most reflected upon the King's own honour and service. 1648

142. It was evident enough that prince Rupert had a long desire to have that command of the fleet put into his hands; and that desire, though carried with all secrecy, had been the cause of so many intrigues, either to inflame the seamen, or to cherish their froward inclinations and increase the prejudice they had to Batten. The Attorney mentioned this to the Chancellor shortly after his coming to the Hague, as a thing he thought the prince might be induced to accept out of his zeal to the King's service, if he were invited to it; and thereupon was willing to debate to what person the government of the fleet could be committed when it should set sail from that

1648 port, and whither it could go. The Chancellor made no other answer to him than that it was like to be a charge of much danger or hazard; that he must not believe that any body would propose the undertaking it to prince Rupert, or that the Prince would command him to undertake it; and that he thought it necessary that it should be first resolved what the fleet should do, and whither it should go, before a commander should be appointed over it.

143[1]. When the marquis of Ormonde had waited so many months in Paris for the performance of those gaudy promises which the cardinal had made, after he saw in what manner the Prince of Wales himself was treated by him, and that he would not suffer the least assistance to be applied to the affairs of England, in a conjuncture when very little would probably have done the work, upon the revolt of the fleet, upon so powerful insurrections in England, and possessing so many places of importance on the King's behalf, and when the whole kingdom of Scotland seemed so united for his majesty's service, and an army of thirty thousand men were even ready to march; I say, after he discerned that the cardinal was so far from giving any countenance or warmth to their blooming hopes, [that] he left nothing undone towards the destroying them but the imprisoning the Prince; he concluded that it was in vain for him to expect any relief for Ireland. And therefore he resolved, though he had neither men nor money nor arms or ammunition, all which had been very liberally promised, to transport with him, he would yet transport his own person, to what evident danger soever he was to expose it. Upon the full assurance the cardinal had given him of very substantial aid, he had assured the lord Inchiquin that he would be present with him with notable supply of money, arms, and ammunition, and good officers, and some common men, (which were all in readiness if the money had been paid to entertain them,) and had likewise sent to many who had formerly served the King, and lived now quietly in the enemy's quarters upon the articles which

[1] [*Hist.* pp. 8–10, for §§ 143–148. Comp. for § 143, book xii. § 65, *note*.]

had been formerly granted the marquis of Ormonde, that they should expect his speedy arrival. 1648

144. And though he had from time to time sent advertisements of the delays and obstructions he met with in the French Court, so that he did almost despair of any assistance from it, yet the lord Inchiquin had advanced too far to retire; and the lord Lisle, who had been sufficiently provoked and contemned by him, was gone into England with full malice, and such information (which was not hard for him to be furnished with) that would put Cromwell and the army into such fury, that his friends in the Parliament, who had hitherto sustained his credit, would be very hardly able to support him longer. So that as he was to expect a storm from thence, so he had a very sharp war to maintain against the Irish, led and commanded by the Pope's nuncio; which war had been always carried on in Munster with wonderful animosity, and with some circumstances of blood, especial[ly] against priests and others of the Roman clergy, that it was very hard to hope that those people would live well together. And indeed the Irish were near rooted out of the province of Munster, though they were powerful and strong in all the other provinces. Hereupon the lord Inchiquin, with all possible earnestness, writ to the lord of Ormonde, that, though without any other assist[ance,] he would transport his own person: by whose countenance and authority he presumed the Irish might be divided and brought to reason; and desired him in the mean time to send to such of the Irish who had dependence upon him, and who, he knew, in their hearts did not wish well to the nuncio, that they would secretly correspond with him, and dispose their friends and dependents to concur in what might advance the King's service; to which they did not know that he was inclined, but looked upon him as the same malicious and irreconcilable[1] enemy to them, as he had always appeared to me to their religion, more than to their persons.

145. From the time that the Irish entered into that bloody and foolish rebellion, they had very different affections, intentions and designs, which were every day improved in the

[1] ['irreconciliable,' MS.]

1648 carrying on the war. That part of them which inhabited the Pale, which was so called from a circuit of ground which contained it, was originally of English extraction, since the first plantation by the English many ages past. And though they were degenerated into the manners and barbarous customs of the Irish, and were as stupidly transported with the highest superstition of the Romish religion, yet they had always steadily adhered to the Crown, and performed the duty of good subjects during all those rebellions which the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth was seldom without. And of that temper most of the province of Leinster was. Munster was most planted with English of all the provinces of Ireland, and though there were many noblemen of that province who were of the oldest Irish extractions, and of those families which had been kings of Munster, yet many of them had intermarried with the best English families, and so were better bred and more civilized than the rest of the old Irish, and lived regularly in obedience to the government, and by connivance enjoyed the exercise of their religion, in which they were very zealous, with freedom and liberty enough.

146. The seat of the old Irish, who retained the rites, customs, manners, and ignorance, of their ancestors, without any kind of reformation in either, was the province of Ulster; not the better cultivated by the neighbourhood of the Scots, who were planted upon them in great numbers, with circumstances of great rigour, if not of injustice. Here the rebellion was first contrived, cherished, and entered upon with that horrid barbarity, by the O'Neales, the Maguyres, and the Mackmahoons; and though it quickly spread itself, and was entertained in the other provinces, (many persons of honour and quality engaging themselves by degrees in it for their own security, as they pretended, to preserve themselves from the undistinguishing severity of the Lords Justices, who denounced the war against all Irish equally, if not against all Roman Catholics; which kind of mixture and confusion was carefully declined in all the orders and directions sent to them out of England, but so unskilfully pursued by the Justices and Council there, that,

as they found themselves without any employment or trust, to which they had cheerfully offered their service, they concluded that they were as much in the jealousy of the State as the other, and so resolved to prevent the danger by as unwarrantable courses as the rest had done,) yet, I say, they were no sooner entered into the war, (which was too generally embraced,) but there appeared a very great difference in the temper and purpose of those who prosecuted it. They of the more moderate party, and whose main end was to obtain liberty for the exercise of their religion, without any thought of declining their subjection to the King, or of invading his prerogative, put themselves under the command of general Preston: and the other, of the fiercer and more savage party, and who never meant to return to their obedience of the Crown of England, and looked upon all the estates which had ever been in the possession of any of their ancestors, though forfeited by their treason and rebellion, as justly due to them, and ravished from them by the tyranny of the Crown, marched under the conduct of Owen Roe O'Neale; both generals of the Irish nation; the one descended of English extraction through many descents, the other purely Irish, and of the family of Tyrone; both bred in the wars of Flanders, and both eminent commanders there, and of perpetual jealousy of each other; the one of the more frank and open nature, the other darker, less polite, and the wiser man; but both of them then in the head of more numerous armies apart than all the King's power could bring into the field against either of them. 1648

147. This disparity in the temper and humour of those people first disposed those of the most moderate to desire a peace shortly after the rebellion was begun, and produced the cessation that was first entered into, and the peace, which did not soon enough ensue upon it; and which, upon the matter, did provide only for the exercise of the Catholic religion, but did that in so immoderate and extravagant a manner as made it obnoxious to all the Protestants of the King's dominions.

148. Owen Roe O'Neale refused to submit to the conditions and articles of that peace, though transacted and confirmed by

1648 the Catholic council at Kilkenny, which was the representative
1646 which the Irish nation had chosen for the conduct of all the
March 28. counsels for peace and war, and to which they all vowed, and had hitherto paid, an entire obedience. The Pope's nuncio,
1645 who about that time came from Rome, and transported himself
Oct. 22. into that kingdom, applied himself to Owen O'Neale, and took that party into his protection; and so wrought upon the clergy
1646 generally, that he broke that peace, and prosecuted those who
Aug. had made it, with those circumstances which have been before remembered, and which necessitated the Lord Lieutenant to quit the kingdom, and to leave the city of Dublin in the hands of the Parliament[1]; the lord Inchiquin having likewise before refused to consent and submit to that peace, and continued to make the war sharply and successfully against the Irish in the province of Munster, whereof he was president. But the nuncio was no sooner invested in the supreme command of that nation both by sea and land, as over a people subject to the Pope and of a dominion belonging to him, than, being a man of a fantastical humour, and of an imperious and proud nature, he behaved himself so insolently towards all, and, having brought no assistance to them but the Pope's bulls, endeavoured by new exactions to enrich him, that even the men of Ulster were weary of him; and they who had been the instruments of the former peace were not wanting to foment those jealousies and discontents, which had produced that application to the Queen and Prince at St. Germain's, and the resolution of sending the marquis of Ormonde thither again, both which have been related before[2]. And the marquis having now given the lord Muskerry (who had married his sister, and was the most powerful person and of the greatest interest in Munster of all the Irish) and other of his friends notice that the lord Inchiquin would serve the King, and therefore required them to hold secret correspondence with him, and to concur with him in what he should desire for the advancement of his service, they found means to hold such an intercourse with him, that, before the marquis of Ormonde arrived there, against all the oppo-

[1] [Book x. § 121.]

[2] [Book x. § 154.]

sition the nuncio could make, a cessation of arms was concluded between the Confederate Catholics and the lord Inchiquin; and the nuncio was driven into Waterford, and, upon the matter, besieged there by the Catholic Irish. And the marquis arriving at the same time at Kinsale[1], and being received by the lord Inchiquin with all imaginable duty as the King's Lieutenant, the forlorn and contemned nuncio found it necessary to transport himself into Italy, leaving the kingdom of Ireland under an excommunication and interdict, as an apostate nation; and all the province of Munster (in which there are many excellent ports) became immediately and entirely under the King's obedience. All which being well known to the Prince and the council, it was easily concluded that it was the best, if not the only, place the fleet could repair to; though the danger in conducting it thither was visible enough; and therefore they were glad that prince Rupert had made that advance towards the command of it, and well satisfied with the wariness of the answer [the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave to the Attorney General].

1648 May 22. May 29 1649 Feb. 22. 1648 May 27.

149. There was in truth nobody in view to whom the charge of the fleet could be committed but prince Rupert: for it was well known that the lord Willoughby, besides his being without any experience of the sea, was weary of it, and would by no means continue there; and the seamen were too much broke loose from all kind of order to be reduced by a commander of an ordinary rank[2]. And as there was no other choice of a place to which it must be carried but Munster, and the passage thither could not but be full of danger, in respect that the Parliament was without question master of the sea, (although the island of Silly being then under the King's authority, and sir John Greenevill being then governor thereof, made that passage the more secure,) so this purpose was to be concealed

[1] [at Cork; Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, ii. 39.]

[2] [The following lines are here struck out in the MS. 'It was as true, that Prince Rupert, at that time, was generally very ungracious in England, having the misfortune to be no better beloved by the King's party than he was by the Parliament; and this was an exception that was foreseen.']

1648 as the last secret; there being great danger that the seamen would rather carry all the ships back again to the Parliament than into Ireland; against which people they had made a war at sea with circumstances very barbarous[1], so that they could have no inclination to go into a country whose people had been handled so cruelly by them.

150. And here again appeared another objection against the person of prince Rupert, who would never endure to be subject to the command of the Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom: and yet it seemed most reasonable that the ships, whilst they stayed there, might be employed towards the reduction of the other parts which were in rebellion: besides that there was cause to fear that prince Rupert would not live with that amity towards the marquis of Ormonde as was necessary for the public service[2]. Notwithstanding all this, when the stratagem of having the Prince desired to take the command of the fleet did not succeed, prince Rupert himself made the proposition to the Prince to take the command of it upon him, and to carry it whither he would be pleased to direct. And then, the whole matter being debated, necessity made that to be counsellable against which many very reasonable objections might be made. And so it was resolved that prince Rupert should be admiral of that fleet, and that it should sail for Ireland. And the charge and expedition appeared to be the more hopeful by the presence of good officers, who had long command in the royal navy: sir Thomas Kittleby, whom the prince made captain of his own ship, the Antelope; sir John Mennes, who had the command of the Swallow, a ship of which he had been captain

[1] [The following lines are also struck out: 'for they had never given any quarter, but all the Irish, as well merchants and passengers as mariners, which fell into their hands, as hath been said before, were bound back to back, and thrown into the sea.']

[2] [A notice of the Prince of Wales falling ill with the small-pox is here struck out, as well as the following words: 'And in this time, the Queen having sent for the duke of York to come to her at Paris, his highness left the Hague with his uneasy family, which in some degree lessened the burthen that lay upon the Prince, and the reproaches to which his council was every [day] made liable by the impertinence and insolence of many of that train.']

many years before; and colonel Richard Feilding, who was 1648
made captain of the Constant Reformation; all worthy and faithful men to the King's service, of long experience in the service of the sea, and well known and loved by the seamen. With these officers, and some other gentlemen who were willing to spend their time in that service, prince Rupert went to Helvord Sluce, where the ships lay, and seemed to be received by the fleet with great joy. They all bestirred themselves in their several places to get the ships ready for sea, and all those provisions which were necessary, and in making whereof there had not diligence enough been used.

151. When they took a strict survey of the ships, the carpenters were all of opinion that the Convertine, a ship of the second rank, that carried seventy guns, was too old and decayed to be now set out in a winter voyage, and in so rough seas, and that when a great deal of money should be laid out to mend her, she would not be serviceable or safe. And it did appear that when the Officers of the Navy had fitted her out at the beginning of the summer, they had declared that when she came in again she would not be fit for more use, but must be laid upon the stocks. Whereupon the ship was brought into Helvord Sluce, upon the next spring tide, and examined by the best Dutch carpenters and surveyors; and all being of the same mind, information was sent by prince Rupert to the Prince of the whole, who thereupon gave direction for the sale of the ordnance and whatsoever else would yield money: all which was applied to the victualling and setting out the rest, and without which no means could have been found to have done it; so much ill husbandry had been used, and so much direct cheating in the managing all the money that had been raised upon the prizes.

152. Prince Rupert remained all the time at Helvord Sluce, till all was ready to set sail, and had with notable vigour and success suppressed two or three mutinies, in one of which he had been compelled to throw two or three seamen overboard by the strength of his own arms[1]. All subordinate officers were

[1] [The following passage is here struck out. 'When he wanted any

1648 appointed; commissioners for the sale of all prize goods and ships that should be taken; treasurers and paymasters for issuing and paying and receiving all moneys; and an establishment for the whole, too regular and strict to be observed: and though all persons employed were well known and approved by prince Rupert, and most of them nominated by himself, yet he thought it fit after to change that constitution, and by degrees brought the whole receipts and issues under his own managery and sole government. When all was ready, he came to the Hague to take leave of the Prince, and so returned, and about the beginning of December he set sail for Ireland, met
1649 Jan. 26. with good prizes in the way, and arrived safely at Kinsale: nor had he been long gone out of Holland when the Prince had a shrewd evidence how unsecure a longer abode would have been there, by some Parliament ships coming into that road, and sending their men on shore, who at noonday burnt the Convertine within the very town of Helvord Sluce, nor did the States make any expostulation, or do any justice for the affront offered to themselves and their government.

153. In this calamitous estate of affairs there seemed to be no hope left, but that by treaty the King might yet be restored to such a condition that there might be those roots left in the Crown, from whence its former power and prerogative might sprout out hereafter and flourish[1]. The commissioners for the

thing, he always writ to the Chancellor, whom of all the Council he most esteemed; and twice in that time he writ to the Prince to send the Chancellor to Helvord Sluce, to advise with him upon some particulars; who went accordingly in terrible cold seasons, and stayed a day or two with him, commonly to compose some differences between him and the officers.']

[1] [Here the text is taken up to the end of § 156 from the *Hist.*, p. 10; while the *Life* continues, at pp. 376-7, in the following passage, which has been struck out. 'As soon as Cromwell had finished his work in Scotland with the marquis of Arguyle, he found it necessary to make all possible haste to London, without making any stay by the way, about Pomfret or any thing else. When all outward enemies were subdued to their wish, the fire began already to be kindled in the Houses, and the Presbyterians took heart upon the confidence they had in the city of London, which stood yet entire, by reason that they had not exposed themselves to any disadvantage by declaring their affections either in the business of Kent or the siege of Colchester; and the whole kingdom in general seemed very

treaty arrived in the Isle of Wight upon the fifteenth day of September, whilst Cromwell yet remained in his northern progress, and his army divided into several parts for the finishing 1648 Sept. 15.

solicitous once more to treat with the King; against which there was a declaration and resolution of both Houses, and if that should be recalled, their foundations were shaken, and they had nothing to insist upon. And therefore when Cromwell returned, he used all his faculties of persuading this man, and terrifying and threatening others, to induce them to adhere to their declaration and vote of making no more addresses to the King; if it should depart from them, their reputation of constancy would be presently lost. Very many members of the House of Commons, who had discontinued coming to the House from the very time that declaration had passed the House, came now thither again upon the account of the new debate against him. Whereupon, after Cromwell had tried all the ways he could, he was at last compelled to consent to what the major part of both Houses so positively required; and so they agreed to send commissioners once more to the King at the Isle of Wight, with their old demands upon the Church, the militia, and Ireland; which was now upon the matter reduced to the King's obedience, the city of Dublin excepted. But that they might be at a certainty in point of time, they resolved that the treaty should continue only for twenty days, at the expiration whereof the commissioners should be obliged to return, and to give the Houses account of what the King should in that time have offered; and during that time of the treaty, the King was attended by such persons of divines and lawyers as he made choice of, and was lodged at the town of Newport, that there might be some appearance of liberty, though all guards were kept upon him with all possible strictness. The commissioners who were sent to treat with him, for the major part, were such who did heartily desire to preserve the King, and did fully discover the wickedness of the army; that is, the wicked intention and resolution of Cromwell, Vane, and the rest, who enough declared that they would have no more a King but would erect a republic. Whereupon all possible endeavours were used by those who came to attend upon his majesty by his own command, as well as such of the commissioners as were generally known to abhor the violence that was intended, to persuade the King to yield as much in all the particulars demanded as might satisfy the Houses, the major part whereof they believed would be satisfied with much less than they would be who governed the army. The King was more easily persuaded to comply in any thing else than in that which concerned the Church, his concessions wherein could only do him good in regard that [they] must satisfy the Presbyterians, who must make the major party. All the transactions passed in writing, the papers whereof are to be seen, which will make posterity wonder at the impudence and impiety of that time, that could treat such a prince in such a manner. When the time grew to an expiration, the importunity of his friends wrought upon him to consent to so much as the commissioners who pressed most did believe would give satisfaction; and they who knew the King best did really think that his majesty much rather wished that the Parliament would reject than accept it; so

1648 his conquest; which was the reason that all they who wished ill to the treaty, and that it might prove ineffectual, had used and interposed all the delays they could, that he might return before it began, as they who wished it might succeed well were as solicitous that it might be concluded before that time; which made them the less to insist upon many particulars both in the propositions and the instructions, which they hoped might be more capable of remedies in the treaty than before it.

154. They stayed three days in the island before the treaty began, which was time little enough to prepare the house for the King's reception at Newport, and adjusting many circumstances of the treaty. And in that time they waited several times on the King, with great show of outward duty and respect; and though none of them durst adventure to see the King in private, they communicated freely with some of those lords and others who with the Parliament's leave were come to attend the King during the time of the treaty. And so they found means to advertise his majesty of many particulars which they thought necessary for him to know; which made impression upon him as the information proceeded from persons better or worse affected to him. And many of those who had liberty to attend were competent considerers of the truth of what they said.

155. The truth is, there were amongst the commissioners many who had been carried with the violence of the stream, and would have been glad of those concessions which the King would very cheerfully have granted; an act of indemnity and oblivion being what they were principally concerned in. And of all the rest, who were more passionate for the militia, and against the Church, there was no man, except sir Harry Vane, who did not desire that a peace might be established by that treaty. For, as all the other lords desired, in their own

far he was from being pleased with his own concessions. During the treaty some of the commissioners treated the King very rudely, yet not with so much insolence as Jinkens and Spurstow, two Presbyterian ministers, exercised towards him, who both were very saucy, telling him that he would be damned; with which his majesty was not at all disturbed.']

natures and affections, no more than that their transgressions 1648
might never more be called to remembrance, so the lord Say himself (who was as proud of his quality, and of being distinguished from other men by his title, as any man alive) well foresaw what would become of his peerage if the treaty proved ineffectual, and the army should make their own model of the government they would submit to, (as undoubtedly they resolved shortly to do); and therefore he did all he could to work upon the King to yield to what was proposed to him, and afterwards upon the Parliament to be content with what his majesty had yielded. But the advice they all gave him, of what inclinations or affections soever [they were,] was the same, that he should forthwith, and without delaying it to the expiration of the term assigned by the Parliament for the treaty, which was forty days, yield to the full demands which were made in the propositions. And their only argument was, that if he did not, or not do it quickly, the army would proceed their own way, and had enough declared that they would depose the King, change the government, and settle a republic by their own rules and invention. And this advertisement was as well believed by those of the King's own party as by the commissioners themselves.

156. Before the treaty began, the commissioners made it known to the King that they could not admit that any person should be present in the room where the treaty should be, much less that any man should presume to speak, or interpose his opinion or advice, upon any matter that should be in debate: that they were commissioners sent from the Parliament to treat with his majesty, and with him alone; and that they might not permit any particular and private persons to oppose or confer with them upon the demands of the Parliament. So that, albeit the Parliament had given leave to the several bishops and other divines, and to many lawyers of eminency, to wait [on] his majesty, upon his desire that they might instruct and inform him in all difficult cases which related to religion or the law of the land, they were like to be of little use to him now they were come, if they might not be present at the debate,

1648 and offer such advice to his majesty as upon immergent occasions he should stand in need of or require from them. At last they were contented, and his majesty was obliged to be contented too, that they might stand behind a curtain, and hear all that was said, and when any such difficulty occurred as would require consultation, his majesty might retire to his chamber, and call those to him with whom he would advise to attend him, and might then return again into the room for the treaty, and declare his own resolution. This was the unequal and unreasonable preliminary and condition to which the King was compelled to submit before the treaty could begin.

157[1]. They who had not seen the King in near two years[2] (for it was little less from the time that he had left Hampton Court) found his countenance extremely altered. From the time that his own servants had been taken from him he would never suffer his hair to be cut, nor cared to have any new clothes; so that his aspect and appearance was very different from what it had used to be: otherwise his health was good, and he was much more cheerful in his discourses towards all men than could have been imagined, after such mortification of all kinds. He was not at all dejected in his spirits, but carried himself with the same majesty he had used to do. His hair was all gray, which, making all others very sad, made it thought that he had sorrow in his countenance, which appeared only by that shadow.

Sept. 18. 158. Upon Monday the 18th of September the treaty began, and the commissioners presented their commission to his majesty, to treat with him personally upon the propositions presented formerly at Hampton Court, concerning the kingdom of England and Ireland only, and upon such propositions as should be offered either by his majesty or the two Houses of Parliament, according to their instructions, &c. Though the King knew very well that Cromwell had so totally subdued Scotland, that he had not left any man there in the least authority or power who did so much as pretend to wish

[1] [This one section is from the *Life*, p. 377.]
[2] [*Sic.* Read, 'one year.']

well to him, and that in truth Cromwell had as much the 1648
command there as Arguyle himself had, who was but his creature, yet, either to recover the[ir] broken spirits, or to manifest his own royal compassion for them, he told the commissioners, that when the propositions had been delivered to him at Hampton Court the Scots' interest was so involved in them that it could be hardly separable from that of England: that it concerned him, as King of both kingdoms, to be just and equal between both; and that though they had no authority to treat for any thing but what related to England, yet he, who was to provide for the public peace, which could hardly be provided for except they [the Scots] were comprehended in this treaty, did desire that they would send to the two Houses of Parliament, that they would give a pass for one of his servants to go into Scotland, to invite the Council there to send somebody, authorized by that kingdom, who might treat with the commissioners of Parliament: and to that purpose delivered them a paper in writing to be sent by them to the Parliament, telling them, at the same time, that it was never his desire or meaning that they [the Scots] should meddle in the government of England, but only should treat concerning the peace, to the end that that might be durable. But the commissioners alleged that it was not in their power to receive and transmit that or any other paper to the Parliament that referred to that kingdom; and they besought him to give them leave, as an evidence of their duty, to inform him of what ill consequence the transmission of that paper at that time might be to the treaty itself. Whereupon he declined sending it by a messenger of his own for the present, which he intended to have done, being unwilling to give any occasion of dispute or jealousy so early, and believing that after he should have gotten a good understanding with the two Houses in what was of immediate concernment to England, he should more effectually transmit that or any other paper for the more easy composing the affairs of Scotland.

159. Then they presented their first proposition to his majesty; that he would revoke all declarations, and commissions

1648 granted heretofore by him, against the Parliament. Whereupon his majesty desired that he might see all the propositions they had to make to him together, that he might the better consider what satisfaction he could give them upon the whole: which they would not yield to without much importunity, and at last delivered them with reluctancy, as a thing they were not sure they ought to do. And though their commission referred to instructions, and his majesty desired that he might have a view of those, they peremptorily refused to let him have a sight of them; and only told him, that they were directed by their instructions first to treat upon the proposition they had already presented to him, concerning the revocation of the declarations, &c. and in the next place, of the Church, then of the militia, and fourthly of Ireland, and afterwards of the rest of the propositions in order; and they declared likewise that, by their instructions, they were not to enter upon any new proposition before they should have received his majesty's final answer to what was first proposed.

160. Hereupon the King demanded of them, whether they had power and authority to recede from any particular contained in their propositions, or to consent to any alterations, if his majesty should give them good reason so to do? To which they answered very magisterially, that they were ready to debate, to shew how reasonable their desires were, and that there could be no reason why they should alter or recede from them; but if his majesty did satisfy them, they should do therein as they were warranted by their instructions. These limitations and restrictions in a matter of that importance, which contained a new frame of government, and an alteration of all civil and ecclesiastical constitutions, almost damped and stifled all the hope his majesty had entertained of good from this treaty. However, he resolved to try if consenting to the substantial part of any proposition would give them satisfaction; and so, without taking notice of the preamble of that proposition which they had delivered to him, he declared in
Sept. 19. writing, which he delivered to them, that he was willing to grant the body of their proposition, that was, to recall all

declarations, &c. But they immediately returned another paper to him, in which they said his majesty had left unanswered the most essential [1] part of their proposition, repeating the words in the preamble, which recited, That the two Houses of Parliament had been necessitated to enter into a war in their just and lawful defence, and that the kingdom of England had entered into a solemn league and covenant to prosecute the same; and so justifying all that had been done, &c. To all which they very vehemently pressed his majesty's approbation and consent, as the most necessary foundation of a lasting peace, and the indispensable expectation of the two Houses and of the whole kingdom; and that the two Houses and the kingdom could not decline this particular demand, without which they could not believe themselves to be in any security; since by the letter of the law they who had adhered to the Parliament might seem guilty of raising war against the King, and so to be guilty of high treason by the statute of the 25th year of King Edward the Third: whereas by the construction and equity thereof they were justified; and therefore that the consenting to this preamble was so essential that without it the Parliament would be thought guilty; which they hoped his majesty did not desire it should. And that this might make the deeper impression upon him, the lord Say, in the debate of it, twice repeated, with more passion than was natural to his constitution, that he did tremble to think how sad the consequence would be if what they now pressed should be denied. And others said, that it was no more than his majesty had heretofore granted in the Act of Indemnity that he had passed in Scotland; and if he should now refuse to do it in England, there would be a speedy end put to the treaty, without entering upon any of the other propositions. The King was so much perplexed and offended with this impudent way of reasoning, that he told those with whom he consulted, and writ the same to the Prince his son, that the long restraint he had endured in the castle of Carisbrooke was not a greater evidence of the captivity of his person, nor was he more sensible of

1648 Sept. 20.

[1] ['an essential,' are the words in the commissioners' reply.]

1648 it, than this was of the captivity of his mind, by his being forced to decline those answers and arguments which were proper to the support of his cause, and which must have brought blushes over the faces of the commissioners, and to frame others more seasonable and fit to be offered to men in that condition from him, who was to receive, and not give, conditions.

161. However, this proposition was of so horrid and monstrous a nature, so contrary to the known truth, and so destructive to justice and government that it seemed to naturalize rebellion, and to make it current in the kingdom to all posterity, that his majesty could not forbear to tell them, that no Act of Parliament could make that to be true which was notoriously known to be false; that this treaty must be the foundation of the future peace and security, and what was herein provided for both could never be called in question; that he was most willing that it should be made very penal to every man to reproach another for any thing he had done during the late troubles, upon what provocation soever. He put them in mind that it was well known to some of them that the Act of Indemnity in Scotland was passed when his majesty was not there, nor any commissioner appointed by him; that it was prepared and drawn by his Attorney General of that kingdom, who was then of the party that was against his majesty; and therefore it was no wonder that he called those of his own side loyal subjects and good Christians in the preamble of that Act; which was never seen by his majesty, though it was confirmed indeed with the other Acts which had passed in that disorderly time by his majesty, upon the conclusion of the peace and their return to their obedience; and that when that should be the case here, he would give them all the appellations they should desire, and as unquestionable security as they could wish. To all which they made no other reply, and that unanimously, [but] that they could not believe themselves secure if that preamble was not entirely consented to.

162. This refractory obstinate adherence of the commissioners to their own will, without a shadow of reason, prevailed nothing upon the King; insomuch as he was inclined to run

the hazard of the present dissolution of the treaty, and to undergo all the inconveniences and mischieves which probably might attend it, rather than to sacrifice his honour and the justice of his cause to their insolent demand, until he had entered into a serious deliberation with those persons who were about him, of whose affections to him he had all assurance, and of the great abilities and understanding of most of them he had a very just esteem. They all presented to him, from the conference they had with such of the commissioners who they were confident spake to them as they thought and believed, that if there were no expedient found out to give more satisfaction upon this first proposition than his majesty had yet offered, as soon as the commissioners should give account of it to the two Houses, they would be presently recalled, and the treaty be at an end: and then it would be universally declared and believed, how untrue soever the assertion [was [1],] that the King refused to secure the Parliament, and all who had adhered to them, from a prosecution by law, upon which they thought it to no purpose to proceed farther in the treaty: whereas if his majesty had condescended to them in that particular, which concerned the lives and fortunes of the whole kingdom, they would have given him such satisfaction in all other particulars, as a full and happy peace must have ensued. 1648

163. Then the lawyers informed him, that his giving way to a recital in a new law, which was not a declaratory law, of what the law was formerly in being, concerning the business in question, and only in a preamble to a law for recalling declarations, &c. did not make their actions lawful, if [they [2]] were not so before; nor did it take away from those who had adhered to him any defence or benefit the former laws had given to them; nor would his party be in a worse condition than they had always been; for his majesty had always offered in all his declarations, that they who followed him, and who were by them called *Delinquents*, should at all times submit to a trial by the laws of the land, and if they should be found guilty of any crime they should not be protected by him.

[1] ['is,' MS.] [2] ['it,' MS.]

1648 And it was evident, by the not prosecution of any one since they were fallen into their hands, in any legal way, that they do not think their transgressions can be punished by law.

164. Upon these reasons, and the joint advice and importunity of all about him, as well the divines as the lawyers, the Sept. 25. King first delivered a paper in writing to the commissioners, in which he declared that nothing that should be put in writing concerning any proposition, or part of any proposition, should be binding, prejudicial, or made use of, if the treaty should break off without effect: and the commissioners presented another paper in writing, in which they fully consented to that declaration in the very terms of the said declaration. And Sept. 25. thereupon the King consented to pass the first proposition with the preamble to it, albeit he said that he well foresaw the aspersions it would expose him to; yet he hoped his good subjects would confess that it was but a part of the price that he had paid for their benefit and the peace of his dominions.

Sept. 25. 165. The first proposition being thus consented to as they could wish, they delivered their second, concerning religion and the Church; which comprehended the utter abolishing episcopacy, and all jurisdiction exercised by archbishops, bishops, deans and chapters, and the alienating their lands, which should be sold to the use and benefit of the commonwealth; the Covenant, which was presented to his majesty to take himself, and to impose upon all others: the Common-Prayer and public liturgy of the Church to be abolished and taken away; and that the reformation of religion according to the Covenant, in such manner as both Houses had or should agree, after consultation with divines, should be settled by Act of Parliament: which the King told them exceeded the implicit faith of the Church of Rome, which only obliges her proselytes to what she doth, not to what she shall, hold. It required the establishing the Presbyterian government, the Directory, the Articles of Christian religion, (a body whereof they presented;) the suppressing innovations in churches; the better[1] advancement of preaching; the observation of the Lord's day; a bill

[1] ['for,' MS.]

against pluralities and non-residency; several acts against Papists; and the taking and imposing the Covenant. 1648

166. This pregnant proposition, containing so many monstrous particulars, sufficiently warned his majesty how impossible it would be to give them satisfaction in all; and therefore, having by consenting to the entire first proposition put it out of their power to break off the treaty, and tell the people that the King in the entrance into it had denied to give them any security for their lives and fortunes, he thought it now fit to offer to the commissioners a proposition of his own, that both the Parliament and the people might clearly discern how much of his own right and dignity he would sacrifice for their peace; and which he thought might prevent the designs of those who might endeavour upon one single proposition, or part of a proposition, to break the treaty.

167. His own proposition contained, in very few words, but three particulars: 1. That he might enjoy his liberty: 2. That his revenue might be restored to him: 3. That an Act of oblivion might pass; which he very well knew would be most grateful to those who seemed to value it least, as it would exempt his own friends from a world of illegal and unjust vexation. Sept. 28.

168. The commissioners absolutely refused to send it to the Houses, though they had no authority to answer it themselves. They said, it rather contained an answer to all their propositions than was a single proposition of his own, and that the sole end of making it was to cajole the people; which the King told them better became him to do than any body else. But when they peremptorily refused to transmit it to the Houses, the King sent an express of his own to deliver it; which being done, after some days' deliberation, the Houses returned no other answer to the King than that his proposition was not satisfactory. In the mean time the commissioners pressed for his answer to the first part of their proposition, for the abolition of bishops. It would be very tedious and unnecessary to set down at large the dispute and arguments which were used on both sides upon this subject. The commissioners, who would Sept. 29. Oct. 2.

1648 not suffer any of the King's servants to be so much as present when any thing of the treaty was agitated, though fit now to let loose their own clergy upon the King, who was much better versed in the argument than they were.

169. That which they urged most was the common allegations, that bishop and presbyter in the Scripture language signified one and the same thing; that if the Apostles exercised a larger jurisdiction, it had been granted to them as Apostles, and concerned not their successors, to whom no such authority had been granted, nor any superiority over other presbyters, who were of the same function with them. Then they inveighed vehemently against lord bishops, their pride and lustre; and as they all behaved themselves with that rudeness as if they meant to be no longer subject to a king as well as to a bishop, so two of them very plainly and fiercely told the King that if he did not consent to the utter abolishing of episcopacy he would be damned; with which his majesty was not moved. The men, Jinkins and Spurstow, lived after the King's return, and, according to the modesty of that race of people, came to kiss the King's hand, and continued the same zeal in all seditious attempts.

Oct. 6. 170. The King pressed them with those texts of Scripture which have been constantly urged by those who maintain the *jus divinum* of bishops, the authority of the Fathers, and the government of all Christian churches for fifteen hundred years, and particularly of the Church of England, before and since the Reformation, by constant and uniform practice and usage; which could not but be by themselves acknowledged to have been by bishops. The commissioners relieved their ill mannered clergy, and urged, that whatsoever was not of divine institution might very lawfully be altered, for if it had its original from men it might by men be changed or reversed: that episcopacy as it was established in the Church by the laws of England, was not that episcopacy which was mentioned or prescribed in Scripture; and therefore the laws which supported [it[1]] might be justly taken away; which, they said, was the reason that

[1] ['them,' MS.]

had induced many men who were not enemies to episcopacy to take the Covenant, which obliged them to take the present hierarchy away. 1648

171. In a word, they urged the practice of other reformed churches, and that his majesty's insisting upon the preservation of episcopacy, as essentially necessary, was to reproach and condemn them. To which he answered, that both Calvin and Beza, and most learned men of the reformed churches, had approved and commended the episcopal government in England, and many of them had bewailed themselves that they were not permitted to retain that government.

172. Besides all their arguments in public, which his majesty with wonderful acuteness fully answered, and delivered his answers in writing to them, (which none of them ever after undertook to reply unto,) they found means in private to advertise the King, that is, such of them who were known to wish well to him, that they were of his majesty's judgment with reference to the government, which they hoped might yet be preserved, but not by the method his majesty pursued: that all the reasonable hope of preserving the Crown was in dividing the Parliament from the army, which could be only done by his giving satisfaction in what was demanded with reference to the Church; which would unite the Parliament in itself, some few persons excepted, and the city to the Parliament, where the Presbyterians were most powerful; and this being done, the Parliament would immediately have power to reform their army, and to disband those who would not be reformed: that then the King would be removed to London, to perfect that by his own presence in Parliament which should be prepared by this treaty; and then the wording those bills, and the formality of passing them, would give opportunity for many alterations; which being now attempted would destroy all, and reconcile the Parliament to the army, which would destroy the King: but then, what the King urged as matter of conscience in himself would find respect and reverence and concurrence. And no doubt they who did make these insinuations did in truth believe themselves; and did think, as

1648 well as wish, that the sequel would be such as they foretold. But that which had more authority with the King, and which nobody about him could put him in mind of, because none of them had been privy to it, was the remembrance of what he had promised concerning the Church to the Scots in the engagement at the Isle of Wight, which he could not but conclude was well known to many of the Presbyterians in England; and he thought that whatever he had promised to do then, upon the bare hope and probability of raising an army, he might reasonably now offer when that army was destroyed,
Oct. 9. and no hope left of raising another. And thereupon he did, with much reluctancy, offer the same he had then promised to do, because he hoped then it would not be in his power to do it; which was, to suspend episcopacy for three years, and then upon consultation with divines, amongst which he would nominate twenty to be present and to consult with them, such a government of the Church as should be agreed upon might be established: that he would not force any man to take the Covenant, but would have the privilege of his own chapel to use the Common Prayer, and observe the same worship he had used to do; and that all persons who desired it might have liberty to take the Covenant and to use the Directory: in fine, he consented to all that he had offered in that engagement with reference to the government of the Church; and likewise, that money should be raised upon the sale of the church-lands, and only their old rent should be reserved to the just owners and their successors. These, with some other concessions of less importance, which related to other branches of the same proposition, *magna inter suspiria*, he delivered to the commissioners as his final answer, and which the major part of them did then believe would have preserved his majesty from further importunity and vexation in that particular.

Oct. 9. 173. The next proposition was concerning the militia, which was their darling, and distinguished the Scotch from the English Presbyterians; the former never desiring to invade that unquestionable prerogative of the Crown; the latter being in truth as fond of it (and as refractory without it) as of

Presbytery itself, and in that particular concurred with Crom- 1648
well himself, and made little doubt of subduing him by it in a short time. In this demand they exercised their usual modesty, and, to abridge the substance of it, in few words, they required a power to keep up the present army, and to raise what other armies they pleased for the future; which gave them authority over the persons of all subjects, of what degree or quality soever. Secondly, a power to raise money for the use and maintenance of those forces, in such a manner, and by such ways and means, as they should think fit; and hereby they had the disposal of the estates and fortunes of all men without restraint or limitation. Thirdly, all forces by land and sea to be managed and disposed as they should think fit, and not otherwise. All this modest power and authority must be granted to the Lords and Commons for twenty years. And, as if this had not been enough, they required farther, that in all cases when the Lords and Commons shall declare the safety of the kingdom to be concerned, unless the King give his royal assent to such a bill as shall be tendered to him for raising money, the bill shall have the force of an Act of Parliament as if he had given his royal assent.

174. There were other particulars included, of power to the city of London over the militia, and for the Tower of London, of no importance to the King, if he once disposed and granted the other as was required, nor need he take care to whom the rest belonged. And here the King was to consider whether he would wholly grant it, or wholly deny it, or whether he could reasonably hope so to limit it that they might have authority enough to please them and he reserve some to himself for his own security. The King had thought with himself, upon revolving all expedients, which he had too long warning to ruminate upon, to propose that the inhabitants of every county should be the standing militia of the kingdom, to be drawn out of the counties upon any occasions which should occur; which would prevent all excessive taxes and impositions, when they were to be paid by themselves. But he quickly discerned that such a proposition would be presently called a conspiracy

1648 against the army, and so put an end to all other expedients. Then he thought of limiting the extravagant power in such a manner that it might not appear so monstrous to all intents and purposes whatsoever; and therefore proposed, that none should be compelled to serve in the wars against their wills, but in case of an invasion by foreign enemies: that the power concerning the land forces should be exercised to no other purposes than for the suppressing of forces which might at any time be raised without the authority and consent of the Lords and Commons, and for the keeping up and maintaining the forts and garrisons, and the present army, so long as it should be thought fit by both Houses of Parliament: that what moneys should at any time be thought necessary to be raised should be done by general and equal taxes and impositions: and lastly, that all patents and commissions to the purposes aforesaid might be made in the King's name, by warrant signified by the Lords and Commons, or such other signification as they should direct and authorize.

175. And these limitations were sent to the Parliament, who, according to the method they had assumed, shortly voted that
Oct. 11, 13. the message was unsatisfactory[1]. Hereupon, that he might at least leave some monument and record of his care and tenderness of his people, (for, after his extorted concessions to the so great prejudice of the Church, he never considered what might
Oct. 9. be dangerous to his own person,) he delivered his consent to the proposition itself to the commissioners, with a preamble to this purpose—that, whereas their proposition concerning the militia required a far larger power over the persons and estates of his subjects than had been ever hitherto warranted by the laws and statutes of the kingdom, yet in regard the present distractions might require more, and trusting in his two Houses of Parliament that they would make no farther use of the powers therein mentioned, after the present distempers should be settled, than should be agreeable to the legal exercise thereof in times past, and for the purposes particularly mentioned in their pro-

[1] [This vote was with regard to the limitations to the proposition respecting the Church, not the militia.]

position, and to give satisfaction to his two Houses of Parliament that he intends a full security to them, and to express his real desires to settle the peace of the kingdom, his majesty doth consent to the proposition concerning the militia as it was desired. This the commissioners did by no means like, nor would acquiesce with, and alleged, that as the concession must be the subject of an Act of Parliament, so this preamble must be a part of it, and would administer occasion of difference and dispute upon the interpretation of it; which being so clearly foreseen ought not to be admitted in any Act of Parliament, much less in such a one as is to be the principal foundation of a lasting peace of the kingdom. After much vexation of this kind, and importunity of friends as well as of enemies, and being almost as weary of denying as of granting, he suffered the preamble to be left out, and his consent to be delivered without it. 1648 Oct. 9.

176. It may be well wondered at, that, after having so far complied with these three propositions, there should be any pause or hesitation in the debate of the rest. For in that concerning the Church, and the other concerning the militia, both the Church and the militia of Ireland (though a kingdom distinct, and never subject to the Parliament of England, but to the King alone) followed the fate of England, and was comprehended in the same propositions: so that there remained nothing more with reference to that kingdom but the declaring the peace that was made there with the Irish to be void; which they pressed with the same passion as if they had obtained nothing; although his majesty referred the carrying on the war to them, and told them that he knew nothing of the peace, which had been made during his imprisonment, and when he could receive no advertisement of what was doing and done; and therefore he was content that it should be broken, and the war be carried on in such a manner as should please them; and which was all one to their ends and purposes as what they desired. But this did by no means please them. If the peace were not declared to be actually void, they could not so easily take that vengeance of the marquis of Ormonde as they resolved to do. Yet after

1648 all these general concessions, which so much concerned himself and the public, and when the necessity that had obliged him to that unwilling compliance might well have excused him for satisfying them in all the rest of their demands, when they pressed his consent to what only concerned private and particular persons, as the revoking all honours and grants of offices which he had conferred upon those who had served him faithfully, and to except many of them from pardon, and leave them to the unmerciful censure of the two Houses both for their lives and fortunes; to submit others to pay, for their delinquency in obeying and serving him, a full moiety of all they were worth; to deprive others of their practice in their several professions and functions, (which exposed all the lawyers and divines who had been faithful to him to utter ruin;) it cannot be expressed with what grief and trouble of mind he received those importunities; and, without doubt, he would at that time with much more willingness have died than submitted to it; but the argument that he had done so much, was now pressed upon him by his friends, and those who were to receive as much prejudice as any by his doing it, that he should do more, and, since he had condescended to many things which gave himself no satisfaction, he would give so full satisfaction to the Parliament that he might receive that benefit, and the kingdom that peace and security, he desired.

177. Many advertisements came from his friends in London, and from other places, that it was high time that the treaty were at an end, and that the Parliament had all his majesty's answers before them to determine what they would do upon them, before the army drew nearer London, which infallibly it would shortly do, as soon as those in the north had finished their work, and Fayrefax had reduced Ragland castle, which could not hold out much longer, and which was his last work to do. It was now near the end of October, and the appointed time for the conclusion of the treaty was the fourth of November; and so, after all importunities as well of those who were to suffer as of those who were to triumph in their sufferings, his majesty's consent was procured to most that was

demanded in the rest of the propositions, the King and all men conceiving the treaty to be at an end. 1648

178. The King had about the middle of October again delivered his own proposition, for his liberty, his revenue, and an Act of oblivion, to the commissioners; which they received, and though at the beginning of the treaty they had refused to transmit it to the Houses, yet now, after so many concessions, they thought fit to send; and did so as soon as they received it. But no answer was returned. Hereupon, when the treaty was within two days of expiring, his majesty demanded of them whether they had received any instructions to treat upon or to give an answer to his own proposition, which he had delivered to them so long since, or whether they had received any order to prolong the treaty. To which they answered, they had not as to either. And when he asked them the same question the very last hour of the limited time, they made the same answer. So that the whole forty days assigned for the treaty were expired before they vouchsafed to return any answer to the single proposition the King had made to them. However, they told him they had received new command to make fresh instance to his majesty that he would forthwith publish a declaration against the marquis of Ormonde, who had very lately declared that he had authority to make a peace with the Irish rebels, and was then treating with them to that purpose. To which his majesty answered, that it was not reasonable to press him to publish any declaration against the marquis, since that, if the treaty should end happily, the desires of the two Houses were satisfied by the concessions he had already made; and so he adhered to his first answer. And conceiving the treaty to be closed, he desired the commissioners, that since he had departed from so much of his own right to give his two Houses satisfaction, they would be a means that he might be pressed no farther; since the few things he had not satisfied them in had so near relation to his conscience, that, with the peace of that, he could not yield farther; and desired them to use the same eloquence and abilities by which they had prevailed with him, in representing to the two Houses the sad

Oct. 17.

Nov. 4.

Nov. 1.

1648 condition of this kingdom if it were not preserved by this treaty; and so concluded with many gracious expressions for their personal civilities, and other kind expressions; which made impression upon all of them who had any bowels.

179. All this being past, and the King believing and expecting that the commissioners would take their leave of him the Nov. 6. next morning, they came the same night to inform him that they had then received new orders and instructions for the continuing and enlarging the treaty for fourteen days longer; for which his majesty was nothing glad. Nor did they in the Houses who wished well to him desire that prolongation; for it was easily discerned that it was moved and prosecuted only by them who did not intend that the treaty itself should have any good effect, and which they were not yet ready and prepared enough to prevent, the army not having yet finished what they were to do in all parts; and [was] consented to unskilfully by those who thought the continuance of the treaty was the best sign that both sides desired peace. And it quickly appeared, by the new instances they made, that delay was their only Nov. 11, 16. business. The commissioners, with new importunity and bitterness, began upon their new instructions, that the King would immediately publish the declaration against the marquis of Ormonde, without any other reasons than those which [he][1] Nov. 16, 17. had answered before. And his majesty answered, there was no other difference between them [but] in point of time, whether presently or at the conclusion of the peace: upon the peace, they had the substance of their desire already granted; and if there were no peace, they had reason to believe that no declaration he should make would be believed or obeyed; and so adhered to what he had answered formerly.

Nov. 17, 20. 180. Then they declared that the Parliament was not satisfied with his concessions with reference to the Church; that the Presbyterian government could be exercised with little profit or comfort, if it should appear to be so short-lived as to continue but for three years; and that they must therefore press the

[1] ['they,' MS.]

utter extirpating the function of bishops; then, the perfect and 1648
entire alienation of their lands; whereas by the King's concessions the old rent was still reserved to them. They said, the Parliament did not intend to force but only to rectify his conscience; and to that end they added more reasons to convince him in the several points. They repeated their old distinction between the Scripture-bishop and the bishop by law. For the absolute alienation of their lands they urged many precedents of what had been done in former times upon convenience or necessity, not so visible and manifest as appeared at present; and concluded with their usual threat, that the consequence of his denial would be the continuance of the public disturbances.

181. To all which his majesty answered, that, for the Presbyterian government, they might remember that their own first ordinance for the settling it was only for three years, which they then thought a competent time for a probationary law, that contained such an alteration in the state; and therefore they ought to think the same now, and that it might be longer lived than three years if it would in that time bear the test and examination of it; and that nothing could be a greater honour to that discipline than its being able to bear that test and examination. He said he was well pleased with their expression, that they did not intend to force his conscience; yet the manner of pressing him looked very like it, after he had so solemnly declared that it was against his conscience; that he did concur with them in their distinction of bishops, and if they would preserve the Scripture-bishop he would take away the bishop by law. He confessed that necessity might justify or excuse many things, but it could never warrant him to deprive the Church of God of an order instituted for continual use, and for establishing a succession of lawful ministers in the Church. For the point of sacrilege, he said, the concurrent opinion of all divines was a much better information to his conscience what is sacrilege, than any precedents or law of the land could be. And upon the whole matter, he adhered to his former answer in all the particulars, and concluded, that he could with more

1648 comfort cast himself upon God's goodness to support him in, and defend him from, all afflictions, how great soever, that might befall him, than for any politic consideration, that might seem to be a means to restore him, to deprive himself of the inward tranquillity of his mind.

Nov. 21. 182. It must not be forgotten that, the last day when the treaty was to end, they delivered to the King the votes which
Nov. 15. the two Houses had passed concerning and upon his own message which had lain so long in their hands unanswered, which was in effect, 1. That from and after such time as the agreements upon this treaty should be ratified by Acts of Parliament, all his houses, manors, and lands, with the growing rents and profits thereof, and all other legal revenue of the Crown, should be restored to him, liable to the maintenance of those ancient forts and castles and such other legal charges as they were formerly charged withal or liable to. 2. That he should be then likewise resettled in a condition of honour, freedom, and safety, agreeable to the laws of the land. 3. That an Act of indemnity should be then passed, with such exceptions and limitations as should be agreed upon, with this addition, that it should be declared by Act of Parliament that nothing contained in his majesty's propositions should be understood or made use of to abrogate, weaken, or in any degree to impair any agreement in this treaty, or any law, grant, or commission agreed upon by his majesty and the two Houses of Parliament, in pursuance thereof; in all which his majesty acquiesced.

183. The time limited for the prolongation of the treaty was to end upon the 21st of November, and the commissioners believed it so absolutely concluded that they took their leave of the King, and early the next morning went to the Cowes harbour to embark themselves. But the tide not serving to transport them out of the island, that night a messenger arrived with directions to them to continue the treaty till the 25th;
Nov. 23. which was four days more. So, the 23rd, they returned and acquainted his majesty therewith.

184. At the same time, the thundering declaration of the

army was published[1]; which declared their full resolution to change the whole frame of government, and that they would be contented with no less an alteration; which, as it was an argument to the King to endeavour all he could to unite the two Houses, that they might be able to bear that shock, so it was expected that it would have been no less an argument to have prevailed with them to adhere to the King, since their interest was no less threatened than his. 1648

185. The fresh instances the commissioners made were upon several votes which had passed the two Houses against delinquents, and a new proposition concerning those who had engaged themselves against the Parliament since January that was in the year 1647, which was the year before, and particularly against the marquis of Ormonde. They proposed that there should be seven persons, the lord Newcastle and six others[2], who were named, who should be excepted from pardon, and their estates forfeited: that the delinquents, in the several classes mentioned in their proposition, should pay for their composition, some a moiety, others a third part of their estates, and other rates as they were set down; and that all who had been engaged in the land or sea service since January 1647 should pay a full year's value of their whole estates more than the other delinquents; and that none who had been against the Parliament should presume to come within either of the Courts belonging to the King, Queen, or Prince, or be capable of any office or preferment, or of serving in Parliament, for the space of three years; and that all clergymen who had been against the Parliament should be deprived of all their preferments, places, and promotions, which should be all void, as if they were naturally dead. To these the King answered, that to the excepting the seven persons named from pardon, and the forfeiture of their estates, his answer was, that if they were proceeded against according to the ancient established laws, Nov. 1, 11. Nov. 21. Nov. 25.

[1] [The *Remonstrance*, dated at St. Alban's Nov. 16, and presented to the House of Commons with a letter from Fairfax on Nov. 20.]

[2] [Sir M. Langdale, lord Digby, sir R. Greenville, judge David Jenkins, sir Fr. Doddington, and sir J. Byron.]

1648 and could not justify and defend themselves, he would not interpose on their behalf; but he could not, in justice or honour, join himself in any act for the taking away the life or estate of any that had adhered to him. For the rates which were to be paid for composition, he referred it to the two Houses of Parliament, and to the persons themselves, who would be contented to pay it; and he did hope and desire that they would be moderately dealt with. And for the clergymen, whose preferments he well knew were already disposed of, and in the hands of another kind of clergy, who had deserved so well that it would not be in his power to dispossess them, his majesty desired that they might be allowed a third part of what was taken from them, till such time that they, or the present incumbents, should be better provided for. As to the marquis of Ormonde, against whom they pressed what they had
Nov. 25. before done with extraordinary animosity, the King answered, that since what he had said before did not give them satisfaction, (and which would bring all to pass that they desired,) he had written a letter, (which he delivered to them to be sent, and read to them,) in which he directed him to desist; and said, if he refused to submit to his command, he would then publish such a declaration against his power and his proceedings as they desired.

186. And now the second limitation of time for the treaty was at an end. But that night came another vote; which
Nov. 27. continued it for a day longer, with a command to the commissioners to return on Tuesday morning; which was the 28th of November: and thereupon they presented two propositions to his majesty, which were to be despatched that day.

Nov. 27. 187. The two propositions they sent for one day's work were, the first, concerning Scotland, the other, concerning the Church, which they did not think they had yet destroyed enough. For Scotland, they demanded the King's consent to confirm by Act of Parliament such agreements as should be made by both Houses with that kingdom, for the security of such thereof who had assisted or adhered to those of the Parliament of England, and for the settling and preserving a happy

and durable peace between the two nations, and for the mutual defence of each other. The King put them in mind, that at the beginning of the treaty they had informed him that their commission was only to treat concerning England and Ireland, and that they had no authority to meddle in any thing that related to Scotland; and that they had thereupon refused to receive a paper from him, which was to preserve the interest of that kingdom; and demanded of them whether their commission was enlarged; which they confessed was not, and that they had presented that paper only in obedience to the order they had received. So that the King easily understood that the end was only that they might have occasion to publish, that the King had rejected whatsoever was tendered to him on the behalf of the kingdom of Scotland. To prevent which, he answered, that he would join in any agreement, to be confirmed by Act of Parliament, for the settling and preserving a happy and durable peace betwixt the two nations, and for their mutual defence of each other, under him as King of both, [and] so he would secure all who had been formerly engaged with them; but for any new engagement or confederacy, which they would make hereafter, he would first know what it was, and be advised with in the making it, before he would promise to confirm it. The other business with reference to the Church gave him much more trouble. The commissioners pressed him to consider the exigence of time, and that there was not a whole day left to determine the fate of the kingdom; and that nothing could unite the counsels of those who wished and desired peace, and to live happily under his subjection and obedience, against the bold attempts of the army, which had enough declared and manifested what their intention was, but satisfying the Houses fully in what they demanded in that particular. His own council and the divines besought him to consider the safety of his own person, even for the Church's and his people's sakes, who had some hope still left whilst he should be preserved, which could not but be attended with many blessings: whereas if he were destroyed there was scarce a possibility to preserve them: that the moral and unavoidable 1648

1648 necessity that lay upon him obliged him to do any thing that was not sin; and that, upon the most prudential thoughts which occurred to them, the order which he, with so much piety and zeal, endeavoured to preserve was much more like to be destroyed by his not complying, than by his suspending it till his majesty and his two Houses should agree upon a future government; which they said much differed from an abolition of it.

188. Hereupon he gave them this final answer, That after such condescensions and weighed resolutions in the business of the Church he had expected not to be farther pressed therein; it being his judgment and his conscience. He said, he could not, as he was then informed, abolish episcopacy out of the Church; yet, because he apprehended how fatal new distractions might be to the kingdom, and that he believed his two Houses would yield to truth, if it were made manifest unto them, as he had always declared that he would comply with their demands if he were convinced in his conscience, he did therefore again desire a consultation with divines in the manner he had before proposed, and would in the mean time suspend the episcopal power, as well in point of ordination of ministers as of jurisdiction, till he and the two Houses should agree what government should be established for the future. For bishops' lands, he could not consent to the absolute alienation of them from the Church, but would consent that leases for lives, or years not exceeding ninety-nine, should be made for the satisfaction of purchasers or contractors: little differing from the answer he had formerly given to this last particular. And in all the rest he adhered to his former answers. And the commis-
Nov. 28. sioners, having received this his final answer, took their leaves, and the next morning began their journey toward London.

189. The King had begun a letter to the Prince his son before the first forty days [were[1]] expired, and continued it, as the treaty was lengthened, even to the hour it was concluded, and finished it the 29th of November, after the commissioners were departed, and with it sent a very exact copy of all the papers

[1] ['was,' MS.]

which had passed in the treaty, in the order in which they were passed, fairly engrossed by one of the clerks who attended. But the letter itself was all in his own hand, and contained above six sheets of paper; in which he made a very particular relation of all the motives and reasons which had prevailed with him, or over him, to make those concessions; out of which most of this relation is extracted. And it is almost evident that the major part of both Houses of Parliament was at that time so far from desiring the execution of all those concessions, that, if they had been able to have resisted the wild fury of the army, they would have been themselves suitors to have declined the greatest part of them. That which seemed to afflict him most, next what referred to the Church and religion, and which he said had a large share in his conscientious considerations, was the hard measure his friends were subjected to, and for whose interest he did verily believe he should better provide in the execution of the treaty than he had been able to do in the preliminaries. For, he said, he could not but think that all who were willing that he should continue their King, and to live under his government, would be far from desiring in the conclusion to leave so foul a brand upon his party, of which they would all desire to be accounted for the time to come. However, he hoped that all his friends would consider, not what he had submitted to, but how much he had endeavoured to have relieved them from; and conjured the Prince his son, that the less he had been able himself to do for them, the more, if God blessed him, he should acknowledge and supply. He said, he would willingly forget in how high degree some subjects had been disloyal, but never had prince a testimony in others of more loyalty than he had had; and however that God, for their and his punishment, had not blessed some of their endeavours, yet, he said, more misguided persons were at last reduced to their loyalty than could in any story be exampled; and that by that, subjects might learn how dangerous the neglect of seasonable duty is, and that men cannot easily fix when they please what they have unnecessarily shaken. The conclusion of the letter, as it was dated the

1648

1648 25th of November, (what was added to it after, till the 29th, was but the additional passages upon the enlargement of time,) deserves to be preserved in letters of gold, and gives the best character of that excellent prince; and was in these words[1]:—

190. 'By what hath been said, you see how long we have laboured in the search of peace: do not you be disheartened to tread in the same steps. Use all worthy ways to restore yourself to your right, but prefer the way of peace. Shew the greatness of your mind, if God bless you, (and let us comfort you with that which is our own comfort, that though affliction may make us pass under the censures of men, yet we look upon it so, as, if it procure not by God's mercy to us a deliverance, it will to you a blessing,) rather to conquer your enemies by pardoning than punishing. If you saw how unmanly and unchristianly the implacable disposition is in our ill-willers, you would avoid that spirit. Censure us not for having parted with so much of our own right; the price is great, but the commodity was security to us, peace to our people: and we were confident another Parliament would remember how useful a king's power is to a people's liberty; of how much thereof we divested ourself, that we and they might meet once again in a due parliamentary way, to agree the bounds for prince and people. And in this give belief to our experience, never to affect more greatness or prerogative than that which is really and intrinsically for the good of subjects, not satisfaction of favourites. And if you thus use it, you will never want means to be a father to all, and a bountiful prince to any you would [be] extraordinarily gracious unto. You may perceive all men entrust their treasure where it returns them interest; and if princes like the sea receive and repay all the fresh streams the rivers entrust with them, they will not grudge but pride themselves to make them up an ocean. These considerations may make you as great a prince as your father is now a low one; and your state may be so much the more established as mine hath been shaken. For subjects have learned (we dare say) that victories over their princes are but triumphs over themselves; and so will be more unwilling to hearken to changes hereafter. The English nation are a sober people, however at present infatuated.

191. 'We know not but this may be the last time we may speak to you or the world publicly: we are sensible into what hands we are fallen; and yet, (we bless God,) we have those inward refreshments the malice of our enemies cannot perturb. We have learned to busy ourself in retiring into ourself, and therefore can the better digest what befalls us; not doubting but God's providence will restrain our enemies' power, and turn their fierceness to his praise.

192. 'To conclude, if God give you success, use it humbly and far from revenge. If he restore you to your right upon hard conditions, whatever

[1] [Clarendon here adds the reference 'pa. 21,' and does not copy the extract. But his reference is to p. 21 of the original copy by Edgeman numbered 96 in art. 2960 (containing all the papers) in the *Calend. Clar. S. P.* i. 458, with which the text given above has been collated.]

you promise, keep. These men, which have forced laws which they were bound to observe, will find their triumphs full of troubles. Do not think any thing in this world worth the obtaining by foul and unjust means. You are the son of our love. And as we direct you to weigh what we here recommend to you, so we assure you, we do not more affectionately pray for you, (to whom we are a natural parent,) than we do that the ancient glory and renown of this nation be not buried in irreligion and fanatic humour; and that all our subjects (to whom we are a politic parent) may have such sober thoughts, as to seek their peace in the orthodox profession of the Christian religion, as it was established since the Reformation in this kingdom, and not in new revelations; and that the ancient laws, with the interpretation according to the known practice, may once again be a hedge about them; that you may in due time govern, and they be governed, as in the fear of God; which is the prayer of 1648

'Your very loving father[1].'

Newport, 25 November, 1648.'

193[2]. Whilst the treaty lasted, it was believed that the King might have made his escape; which most men who wished him well thought in all respects ought to have been attempted; and he himself was inclined to it, thinking any liberty preferable to the restraint he had endured. But he did receive some discouragement from pursuing that purpose, which both diverted him from it and gave him great trouble of mind. It cannot be imagined how wonderfully fearful some persons in France were that he should have made his escape, and the dread they had of his coming thither; which must be believed[3] was not from want of tenderness of his safety, but from the apprehension they had that the little respect they would have shewed him there would have been a greater mortification to him than all that he could suffer by the closest imprisonment. And sure there was at that time no court in Christendom so honourably or generously constituted, that it would have been glad to have seen him[4]. And it might be some reason that

[1] [The words 'which—father' are added in Clarendon's hand.]

[2] [*Life*, p. 377.] [3] ['must be believed' substituted for 'without doubt.']

[4] [The following lines are here struck out in the MS., because the story they tell is subsequently contradicted (§ 196), but erroneously, being in its main features correct, excepting the cause of discovery, and the connection with Rolfe. 'Once afterwards he did endeavour to make an escape out of his window, having, as he thought, such provision made for him, that if he had been out of his [chamber[1]] he might have been conveyed March 20.

[1] ['chapter,' MS.]

1648 they who wished him very well did not wish his escape, because they believed imprisonment was the worst that his worst enemies intended towards him; since they might that way more reasonably found and settle their republical government; which men could not so prudently propose to bring to pass by a murder; which in the instant gave the just title to another, who was at liberty to claim his right, and to dispute it.

194 [1]. Before the treaty, and after the votes and declaration of no more addresses, when his treatment was so barbarous, his majesty had proposed to himself to make an escape, and was very near the perfecting it. He had none about him but such persons who were placed by those who wished worst to his safety, and therefore chose such instruments as they thought to be of their own principles. Amongst those there was a young man, one Osborne, by extraction a gentleman, who was recommended by the lord Wharton (one who deserved not to be suspected by Cromwell himself) to colonel Hammond, to be placed in some near attendance about the King; and he, from the recommendation, never doubt[ing] [2] the fitness of the man, immediately appointed him to wait as gentleman usher; which gave him opportunity to be almost always in the presence of the King. This young man, after some months' attendance, was wrought upon by the dignity of the King's carriage, and the great affability he used towards those who were always about

out of their reach; but he was deceived by a vulgar assertion, that where the head can out, the whole body will follow; and so having made an experiment with his head between the bars of the window, he concluded that he could easily have got out that way; but when he thought to have executed it, and had his head out, and used all the motions he could to draw his body after him, he found himself so straitened that he could get neither backward [n]or forward; and, after much pain sustained to no purpose, he was forced to call out for some to come for his relief; and so he was from without and from within helped back into his chamber, which put an end to all attempts of that kind; and it was then believed that he was betrayed into that design, and that Rolfe, who was afterwards accused of it, expected his descent from his window, with a purpose to have murdered him.']

[1] [*Hist.* p. 18.]

[2] ['doubted,' MS.]

him, to have a tenderness and loyal sense of his sufferings, and 1648
did really desire to do him any service that might be acceptable. By his office of gentleman usher he usually held the King's gloves when he was at meat, and first took that opportunity to put a little billet, in which he expressed his devotion, into one of the fingers of his gloves. The King was not forward, or over credulous of the professions of a person he knew so little, and who he knew would not be suffered to be about him if he were thought to have those inclinations. However, after longer observation, and sometimes speaking to him whilst he was walking amongst others in the garden allowed for that purpose, his majesty began to believe that there was sincerity in him; and so frequently put some memorial into fingers of his glove, and by the same expedient received advertisement from him.

195. There was in the garrison one Rolph, a captain of a foot company, whom Cromwell placed there as a prime confident, a fellow of a low extraction and very ordinary parts, who from a common soldier had been trusted in all the intrigues of the army, and was one of the Agitators inspired by Cromwell to put any thing into the soldiers' minds, upon whom he had a wonderful influence, and could not contain himself from speaking maliciously and wickedly against the King when dissimulation was at the highest amongst the great officers. This man grew into great familiarity with Osborne, and, knowing from what person he came recommended to that trust, could not doubt but that he was well inclined to any thing that might advance him; and so, according to his custom of reviling the King, he wished he were out of the world, for they should never make any settlement whilst he was alive. He said, he was sure the army wished him dead, and that Hammond had received many letters from the army to take him away by poison, or any other way; but that he saw it would never be done in that place; and therefore, if he would join with him, they would get him from thence; and then the work would easily be done. Osborne asked him how it could be possible to remove him from thence without Hammond's or the King's

1648 own consent. Rolph[1] answered, that the King might be decoyed from thence as he was from Hampton Court, by some letters from his friends of some danger that threatened him, upon which he would be willing to make an escape; and then he might easily be despatched.

196. Osborne shortly found an opportunity to inform the King of all this. The King bade him continue his familiarity with Rolph, and promise to join with him in contriving how the King should make an escape; and he hoped by this means to make Rolph's villainy the means of getting away. He recommended one of the common soldiers to Osborne, who, he said, he thought might be trusted; and wished him to trust one Dowcett, whom the King had known before, and was then placed to wait upon him at his back-stairs, and was indeed an honest man; for it was impossible for him to make an escape without the privity of such persons who might provide for him when he was got out of the castle, as well as help him from thence. Osborne told Rolph he was confident he should in the end persuade the King to attempt an escape, though he yet seemed jealous and apprehensive of being discovered and taken again. Dowcett concurred very willingly in it, and the soldier who was chosen by the King proved likewise very honest, and wrought upon one or two of his companions who used to stand sentries at the place where the King intended to get out. All things were provided; and the King had a file and saw, with which he had with wonderful trouble sawed an iron bar in the window, by which he could be able to get out; and being in this readiness, the night was appointed, and Osborne at the place where he was appointed to receive the King. But one of the soldiers informed Rolph of all, which Osborne had not done; by which he concluded that he was false, and directed the soldier to proceed and stand sentry in the same place to which he had been assigned; and he and some other trusted by him were armed, and stood very near with their
May 28. pistols. At midnight the King came to the window, resolving

[1] [The name is written by Clarendon 'Rolte' (for Rolfe) and 'Rolph' indifferently.]

to go out; but as he was putting himself out, he discerned 1648
more persons to stand thereabout than used to do, and thereupon suspected that there was some discovery made; and so shut the window, and retired to his bed. And this was all the ground of a discourse which then flew abroad, as if the King had got half out at the window, and could neither draw his body after nor get his head back, and so was compelled to call out for help; which was a mere fiction.

197. Rolph acquainted Hammond with what the King had designed, who presently went into his chamber, and found the King in his bed, but the bar of the window cut in two and taken out; by which he concluded his information to be true, and presently seized upon Dowcett, but could not apprehend Osborne, who was either fled out of the island, or concealed in it, that he could not be found. Rolph could not forbear to insult upon Dowcett in prison, and scornfully asked him why his King came not forth when he was at the window, and said he was ready with a good pistol charged to have received him. When Osborne had got into a place of present safety, he writ a letter to his patron the lord Wharton, informing him of the whole matter; and desired him to acquaint the House of Peers of the design upon the King's life, and that he would be ready to appear and justify the conspiracy. The good lord, after he had kept the letter some time, sent it to Hammond, as the fittest person to examine the truth of the relation. Osborne was not discouraged with all this, but sent two letters to the Speakers of both Houses, and June 15.
enclosed in it the letter he had formerly writ to the lord Wharton. In the House of Commons the information was slighted, and laid aside; but it made more impression upon the House of Peers, who sent with more than ordinary earnestness to the Commons that Rolph might be sent for, and a safeguard for forty days to Osborne to appear and prosecute.

198. Rolph brought with him a large testimonial from June 23.
Hammond of his integrity, and of the many good services he had done to the State. Osborne appeared likewise at the Lords' bar, and made good upon oath all that is before set June 27.

1648 down, and undertook to produce other evidence. The House of Commons had no mind to have it examined farther; but the clamour of the people was so great, that after many delays they voted that it should be tried at the general assizes at Winchester. And thither they sent their well-tried sergeant Wilde to be the sole judge of that circuit: before whom the major part of the same jury that had found captain Burleigh guilty was impannelled for the trial of Rolph. Osborne and
Aug. 28. Dowcett, (who upon bail had liberty to be there,) appeared, to make good the indictment; and upon their oaths declared all that Rolph had said to them, as is set down before. The prisoner (if he may be called a prisoner who was under no restraint,) had two lawyers assigned to be of counsel with him, contrary to the law and custom in those cases: but he needed not to have any counsel but the judge himself, who told the jury, 'that it was a business of great importance that was before them, and therefore that they should take heed what they did in it: that there was a time indeed when intentions and words were treason, but God forbid it should be so now: how did any body know but that those two men, Osborne and Dowcett, would have made away the King, and that Rolph charged his pistol to preserve him? or perhaps they would have carried him away to have engaged them in [a] second war.' He told them, 'they were mistaken who did believe the King to be in prison; the Parliament did only keep him safe, to save the shedding of more blood.' Upon these good directions, the grand jury found an *ignoramus* upon the bill; and this was some months before the treaty.

199[1]. When the commissioners who had treated with the King at the Isle of Wight were returned to the Parliament, their report took up many days in the House of Commons, where the resolution was first to be taken; which commonly was final, the Lords rarely presuming to contradict what the others thought fit to determine. The question upon the whole was, whether the answer that the King had made to their propositions was satisfactory; which was debated with all the

[1] [*Life*, p. 378.]

virulence and acrimony towards each other that can fall from men so possessed as both sides were. 1648

200 [1]. Young sir Harry Vane had begun the debate with the highest insolence and provocation; telling them, that they should that day know and discover who were their friends and who were their foes; or, that he might speak more plainly, who were the King's party in the House, and who were for the people; and so proceeded with his usual grave bitterness against the person of the King, and the government that had been too long settled; put them in mind that they had been diverted from their old settled resolution and declaration that they would make no more addresses to the King; after which the kingdom had been governed in great peace, and began to taste the sweet of that republical government which they intended and began to establish, when, [by] a combination between the city of London and an ill affected party in Scotland, with some small contemptible insurrection[s] in England, all which were fomented by the city, the Houses had, by clamour and noise, been induced and compelled to reverse their former votes and resolution, and to enter into a personal treaty with the King; with whom they had [not] been able to prevail, notwithstanding the low condition he was in, to give them any security, but [he] had still reserved a power in himself, or at least to his posterity, to exercise as tyrannical a government as he had done: that all the insurrections which had so terrified them were now totally subdued, and the principal authors and abettors of them in their custody, and ready to be brought to justice, if they pleased but to direct and appoint it: that their enemies in Scotland were reduced, and that kingdom entirely devoted to a firm and good correspondence with their brethren, the Parliament of England; so that there was nothing wanting but their own consent and resolution, to make themselves the happiest nation and people in the world; and to that purpose desired that they might, without any more loss of time, return to their former resolution of making no more address to the King, but proceed to the Dec. 1.

[1] [*Hist.* p. 19.]

1648 settling the government without him, and to the severe punishment of those who had disturbed their peace and quiet, in such an exemplary manner as migh terrify all other men for the future to make the like bold attempts: which, he told them, they might see would be most grateful to their army, which had merited so much from them by the Remonstrance which they had so lately published.

201. This discourse appeared to be exceedingly disliked, by that kind of murmur which usually shews how the House stands inclined, and by which men make their judgments there of the success that is like to be. And his preface and entrance into the debate was taken notice of with equal sharpness, and his presumption in taking upon himself to divide the House, and to censure their affections to the public as their sense and judgment should agree or disagree with his own; and since he had without example taken so much upon him, he was not to take it ill if the contrary was assumed by other men; and that it was as lawful for another man, who said he was no gainer by the trouble, to make another division of the House, and to say that they should find in the debate of that day that there were some who were desirous of peace, and that they were all losers, or at least no gainers, by the war; and that others were against peace, and that they by the war had gained large revenues, and great sums of money, and much wealth; and therefore his motion was, that the gainers might contribute to the losers, if they would not consent that the one might enjoy what was left, and the other possess what they had got, by a peace that might be happy for both.

202. Whilst this was debating in the House, which continued
Nov. 20. several days, six officers from the head-quarters at Windsor, whither the army had been brought before or at the time when the treaty ended at the Isle of Wight, brought their large *Remonstrance* to the House; in which they desired that there might be no farther proceeding upon that treaty, but that they would return to their former determination of no farther addresses, and make what haste they could in settling the government: that the bargaining proposition on the behalf of

delinquents, which was only upon a contract with the King, 1648
and not in any judicial way, might be laid aside, and that public justice might be done upon the principal actors in the late troubles, and that others upon a true submission might find mercy: that a peremptory day might be set, when the Prince of Wales and the duke of York should be required to appear, which if they should not do, they should stand exiled as traitors; and if they should appear, yet they should be bound to make some satisfaction: that an end might be put to this Parliament, and a new representative chosen of the people, for the governing and preserving the whole body of the nation; that no King might be hereafter admitted but upon election of the people, and as upon trust for the people, who should be likewise limited and restrained by the representative; with many other unpractical particulars, which troubled the Parliament the less for their incoherence, and impossibility to be reduced into practice.

203. But that which troubled most, and which indeed awakened them to the most dismal apprehensions, was, that they were advertised that the King was taken away from Caris- Nov. 29.
brooke Castle by an officer of the army, and carried to Hurst Castle, not far from the other, but situated in so vile and unwholesome an air that the common guards there used to be frequently changed for the preservation of their health. Colonel Hammond had, before the expiration of the treaty, writ many letters to the Parliament, to be discharged from that government, and from the charge of the King's person; and the officers of the army seemed wonderfully offended with him for making the demand, and he got himself looked upon as under a cloud. But the treaty was no sooner ended, and before the commissioners began their report to the Houses, but he was discharged of the government, and another colonel sent to take the person of the King, and to carry him to Hurst Castle.

204. This news being brought when they were in the heat Dec. 4.
of the debate upon the King's answer, they gave over that contest, and immediately voted that the seizing upon the King's person and carrying him prisoner to Hurst Castle was

1648 without their advice and consent: which vote had no contradiction, because no man would own the advice. Then they caused a letter to be written to the general, that the orders and instructions to colonel Ewre (the officer who had seized the King) [were [1]] contrary to their resolutions, and instructions to colonel Hammond, and therefore that it was the pleasure of the House that he should recall those orders, and that colonel Hammond should again resume the government of the Isle of Wight. But the general, without taking any notice of their
Dec. 1. complaint or of their command, demanded the payment of the arrears due to the army, and told them that unless there were present money sent to that purpose he should be forced to remove the army, and to draw them nearer to London. And at the same time a new Declaration was sent to the House from the army, in pursuance of their late Remonstrance; which the House refused to take into consideration; and some sturdy members moved that the army might be declared traitors, if they presumed to march nearer London than they were at present, and that an impeachment of high treason might be drawn up against the principal officers of it. Hereupon the general
Dec. 2. marches directly for London, and quarters at Whitehall; the other officers, with their troops, in Durham House, the Mews, Covent Garden, Westminster, and St. James's; and for the present necessity, that no inconvenience might fall out, they sent to the city without delay to supply forty thousand pounds, to be immediately issued out to satisfy the army. Notwithstanding all which monstrous proceeding, the House of Commons retained its courage, and were resolute to assert the treaty, and that the King's answer was satisfactory; or if it were not fully satisfactory, that the House might and ought to accept thereof, and proceed to the settlement of peace in Church and State, rather than to reject [it [2]] as unsatisfactory, and thereby continue the kingdom in war and distraction.

205. They who vehemently pressed this conclusion, and would be thought to be for the King, to make themselves popular, took upon them to make all the invectives both

[1] ['was,' MS.] [2] ['them,' MS.]

against the King and all the time of his government that his bitterest enemies could [do[1],] only that they might shew how much the concessions he had now granted had provided remedies for all those evils, and made all the foundation of their future hope of happiness and peace to be in the no-power they had left him in: so that if he should have a mind to continue the distractions to-morrow, he would find nobody ready ever to join with him, having at this time sacrificed all his friends to the mercy of their mortal enemies. In conclusion, and when they had prosecuted the debate most part of the night, till almost five of the clock in the morning on Monday night they had first put the question, Whether the question should be put, and carried it by one hundred and forty voices against one hundred and four[2]: the main question, That the answer of the King to the propositions of both Houses was a ground for the Houses to proceed upon for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom, was so clearly voted, that the House was not divided[2]; and that there might be no afterclaps, they appointed a committee to confer with the general, for the better procuring a good intelligence and correspondence between the army and the Parliament; and then they adjourned the House to Wednesday morning, it being then near the morning of Tuesday.

1648 Dec. 4. Dec. 5.

206. The committee that was appointed to confer with the general waited that afternoon upon him in his lodging at Whitehall, that they might be able to give some account to the House the next morning. But they were forced to attend full three hours before they could be admitted to his presence; and then he told them sullenly and superciliously, that the way to correspond with the army was to comply with their Remonstrance. And[3] the next morning there was a guard of musketeers placed at the entry into and door of the House; and the officers thereof having a list in their hands of the

Dec. 5. Dec. 6.

[1] ['be,' MS.]

[2] [On Monday the putting of the question, Whether the King's answers be satisfactory, was negatived by 144 to 93; but on Tuesday, Dec. 5, the putting of the question, That the King's answers were a ground to proceed upon for settlement of peace, was carried by 129 to 83. *Journals*, VI. 93.]

[3] [*Life*, p. 378.]

1648 names of those who should be restrained from going into the House, all those were stopped, one by one, as they came, and sent into the court of wards, where they were kept together for many hours, under a guard, to the number of near one hundred[1]. Notwithstanding which, there were so many of the same opinion got into the House, through the inadvertency of the guard, or because they meant only to sequester the most notorious and refractory persons, that the debate, upon resuming the same question, continued very long. Several members who observed the force at the entrance of the House, and saw their companions not suffered to come in, complained loudly of the violence and breach of privilege, and demanded remedy; but in vain; the House would take no notice of it. In the conclusion, after a very long debate, the major part of those who were present in the House voted the negative to what had been settled in the former debate, and that the answer the King had given to their propositions was not satisfactory.

207. Those gentlemen who for some hours had been restrained in the court of wards were afterwards led in triumph through Westminster Hall, (except some few, who were suffered for affection, or by negligence, to go away,) by a strong guard, to that place under the Exchequer which is commonly called Hell; where they might eat and drink at their own charge what they pleased. And here they were kept in one room, till after twelve of the clock in the night: after which hour, in respect of the extreme cold weather and the age of many of the members, they were carried to several inns; where they were suffered to lodge as prisoners, and remained under that confinement for two or three days; in which time they published a Protestation in print against the proceedings of the House of Commons, declaring the force and violence that had been used against them. And then, the House with the remaining members having determined what they thought fit, the other were
Dec. 20. at liberty to do what they pleased. Nobody owned this act of violence in the exclusion of so many members: there was no

[1] ['near one hundred' substituted for 'four or five and fifty.' The whole number was 143, of whom 47 were imprisoned.]

order made for it by the House. Fayrefax the general knew nothing of it, and the guards themselves, being asked what authority they had, gave no other answer but that they had orders. But afterwards there was a full and clear order of the House, without taking notice of any exclusion, that none of them who had not been present that day when the negative vote prevailed should sit any more in the House before they had first subscribed the same vote, as agreeable to their judgments; which if they subscribed, they were as well qualified members as before. Many of these excluded members, out of conscience or indignation, forbore coming any more to the House for many years, and not before the revolution; others, sooner or later, returned to their old seats, that they might not be idle when so much business was to be done. 1648 Feb. 1.

208[1]. Then they renewed their old votes of *No more addresses*, and annulled and made void all those which introduced the treaty: and, that they might find no more such contradiction hereafter, they committed to several prisons major general Browne, (though he was then shrief of London,) sir John Clotworthy, sir William Waller, major general Mass[e]y, and commissary general Coply, who were the most active members in the House of the Presbyterian party, and who had all as maliciously advanced the service of the Parliament in their several stations against the King as any men of their rank in the kingdom, and much more than any officer of the present army had then credit to do. Of these, Mass[e]y made his escape, and transported himself into Holland; and there, according to the natural modesty of that sect, presented himself to the Prince with as much confidence, and as a sufferer for the King his father, as if he had defended Colchester[2]. Dec. 13. Dec. 12. Jan. 18.

209. The Protestation that the secluded members had published and caused to be printed, with the narrative of the violence that had been exercised upon them, and their declaring all acts to be void which from that time had been done in the

[1] [*Hist.*, p. 21.]

[2] [See *Calend. Clar. S. P.* I. 464. The letter there described, dated Jan. 1, is signed 'a fellow sufferer for your royall father, E. M.']

1648 House of Commons, made a great noise over the kingdom, and no less incensed those who remained and sat in the House than it did the officers of the army; and therefore, to lessen the credit
Dec. 15. of it, the House likewise made a declaration against that Protestation, and declared it to be false, scandalous, and seditious, and tending to the destruction of the visible and fundamental government of the kingdom; and to this wonderful declaration they obtained the concurrence of the small House of Peers: and jointly ordained, that that Protestation should be suppressed, and that no man should presume to sell or buy, or to read the same.

210[1]. When they had in this manner mastered all contradictions and opposition, they began more directly to consult what they were to do, as well as what they were not to do, and to establish some affirmative conclusions, as they had negatives. They were told that it was high time to settle some form of government under which the nation was to live: there had been much treasure and blood spent to recover the liberty of the people, which would be to no purpose if there were not provision made for their secure enjoying it; and there would be always the same attempts made which had been of late, to disturb and to destroy the public peace, if there were not such exemplar[y] penalties inflicted as might terrify all men, of what condition soever, from entering upon such desperate
Jan. 20. undertakings. They[2] resolved to gratify the army by taking
Dec. 29. a view of a paper formerly digested by them as a model for a new government, which was called *The Agreement of the People*, and for contriving and publishing whereof one of the Agitators
1647 Nov. 15. had been by Cromwell's direction, the year before, shot to death, when he found the Parliament was so much offended with it. They declared now[3], as the most popular thing they could do to please both the people and the army, that they would put an end to the Parliament on the last day of April next; and that there should be a representative of the nation, consisting of three hundred persons, chosen by the people; of

[1] [*Life*, p. 378.] [2] [*Hist.*, p. 21.]

[3] [What follows only expresses the proposals in the *Agreement*, not any resolution of Parliament.]

which, for the term of seven years, no person who had adhered to the King, or who should oppose this agreement, or not subscribe thereunto, should be capable of being chosen to be one, or to have a voice in the election; and that, before that time, and before the dissolution of that present Parliament, it would be necessary to bring those signal delinquents who had lately disturbed the quiet and peace of the kingdom, and put it to so great an expense of blood and treasure, to exemplary punishment. And it was with great impudence very vehemently urged, that[1] they ought to begin with him who had been the cause of all the miseries and mischieves which had befallen the kingdom, and whom they had already divested of all power and authority to govern them for the future; and they had already had near two years' experience that the nation might be very happily governed without any recourse to him: that they had already declared, in which the House of Peers had concurred with them, that the King had been the cause of all the blood which had been spilt; and therefore that it was fit that such a man of blood should be brought to justice, that he might undergo the penalty that was due for his tyranny and murders: that the people expected this at their hands, and that, having the principal malefactor in their hands, he might not escape the punishment that was due to him. 1648 Dec. 23.

211. How new and monstrous soever this language and discourse was to all English ears, they found a major part still to concur with them: so that they appointed a committee for the present to prepare a charge of high treason against the King, which should contain the several crimes and misdemeanours of his reign; which being made ready, they would consider of the best way and manner of proceeding, that he might be brought to justice. Dec. 23.

212. This manner of proceeding in England was so unheard of, that it was very hard for any body to propose any way to oppose it that might carry with it any hope of success. However, the pain the Prince was in would not suffer him to rest without making some effort. He knew too well how far

[1] [*Life*, p. 378.]

1649 the States of Holland were from wishing that success and honour to the Crown of England as it had deserved from them, and how much they had always favoured the rebellion; that his own presence was in no degree acceptable or grateful to them, and that they were devising all ways how they might be rid of him: yet he believed the way they were now upon in England would be so universally odious to all Christians that no body of men would appear to favour it. His highness therefore sent to the States General, to desire them to give him an audience the next day; and that he would come to the place where they sat; which he did, being met by the whole body at the foot of the stairs, and conducted into the room where they sat.

Jan. 23. 213. The [Prince[1]] was attended by four or five of his council; and when he had said a little to [the States[2]] of compliment, he referred them to a paper which sir William Boswell, the King's resident there, was to deliver to them. The paper shortly described the ill condition the King his father was in, and the threats and menaces which his enemies used to proceed against him in such a manner as must be abominated by all Christians, and which would bring the greatest reproach and obloquy to the Protestant religion [that[3]] ever Christianity had undergone: and therefore desired them that they would interpose their credit and authority in such a manner as they thought fit with the two Houses at Westminster, that, instead of such an unlawful and wicked persecution, they would enter into terms of accommodation with his royal father; for the observation whereof his royal highness would become bound.

214. The States assured his highness that they were very much afflicted at the condition of the King, and would be glad any interposition of theirs might be able to relieve him; that they would seriously consider in what manner they might serve him. And that day they resolved to send an extraordinary ambassador into England, who should repair to the Prince of Wales, and receive his instructions to what friends of the King's he should resort and consult with; who, being upon the

[1] ['King,' MS.] [2] ['them,' MS.] [3] ['than,' MS.]

place, might best inform him to whom to apply himself. And 1649
they made choice of Paw, the Pensioner of Holland, for their ambassador; who immediately attended the Prince with the offer of his service and many professions of his desire that his journey might produce some good effect.

215. The council that was about the Prince had always looked upon Paw as a man that had favoured the rebellion in England, and as much obstructed all civilities from the States towards the King as was possible for him to do; and therefore they were very sorry that he was made choice of for ambassador in such a fatal conjuncture. But the Prince of Aurange assured the Prince that he had used all his credit to compass that election; that he was the wisest man of their body; and that neither he, nor any of the rest who had cherished the English rebellion more than he, ever desired it should prosper to that degree it had done, and that they should change the government; and therefore wished there might not appear any distrust of him, but that the Prince would treat him with confidence, and some of the council would confer with him with freedom, upon any particulars which it would be necessary for him to be instructed in. But the wisdom of angels was not sufficient to give any effectual advice for such a negociation, since the States could not be brought so much to interest themselves as to use any menaces to the Parliament, as if they would embark themselves in the quarrel. So that the council could only wish that the ambassador would confer with such of the King's friends who were then at London, and whose relation had been most eminent towards his majesty, and receive advice from them how he might most hopefully prevail over particular men, and thereby with the Parliament. And so the ambassador departed for England within less than a week after he was nominated for the employment.

216. At the same time, the Queen of England, being struck to the heart with amazement and confusion upon the report what the Parliament intended, sent a paper to the agent who was employed there by the cardinal to keep a good correspondence, which she obliged him to deliver to the Parliament.

1649 The paper contained a very passionate lamentation of the sad condition the King her husband was in, and desiring that they would grant her a pass to come over to him, offering to use all the credit she had with him that he might give them satisfaction; however, if they would not give her leave to perform any of those offices towards the public, that she might be permitted to perform the duty she owed him, and to be near him in the utmost extremity. Neither of these addresses did more than express the zeal of those who procured them to be made. The ambassador Paw could neither get leave to see the King, (which he was to endeavour to do, that he might from himself be instructed best what to do,) nor be admitted to an audience by the Parliament till after the tragedy was acted[1]: and the
Jan. 3. Queen's paper was delivered, and never considered in order to return any answer to it.

217. When the committee had prepared such a charge, which they called an 'Impeachment of High Treason against Charles Steward, King of England,' digested into several articles, which contained all those calumnies they had formerly digested into that declaration of *No more addresses* to be made to him,
Dec. 28. with some additional reproaches, it was read in the House;
Jan. 1. and after it was approved there, they sent it to the House of Peers for their concurrence. That House had very little to do from the time that Cromwell returned from Scotland, and were few in number, and used to adjourn for two or three days together for want of business; so that it was believed that they who had done so many mad things, rather than they would dissent from the House of Commons, would likewise concur with them in this, rather than sever from them when they were so triumphant. But, contrary to this expectation, when this impeachment was brought up to the Peers, it was so ill received that there was not one person who concurred with them; which, considering the men, and what most of

[1] [Pauw and the resident ambassador Joachim were admitted to audience on Jan. 29, but the paper they read was not considered till the next day; and the answer of the Lords was not given till Feb. 3, nor that of the Commons till Feb. 15.]

them had done, might seem very strange. And when they had with some warmth rejected it, they adjourned for a week, presuming they should thereby at least give some interruption to that career which the House of Commons was upon, and in that time some expedient might be found to reconcile the proceedings in both Houses. But they were as much deceived in this; the House of Commons was very well pleased with it, and thought they had given them ease which they could not so well have contrived for themselves. So they proceeded in their own method; and when the day came to which the Lords had adjourned their House, they found their doors all locked, and fastened with padlocks, that there should be no more entrance for them; nor did any of them ever after sit in that House as Peers[1], till Cromwell, long after, endeavoured in vain to have erected a House of Peers of his own creation; in which some of them then very willingly took their places. 1649 Jan. 2.

218. The charge and accusation upon which they resolved to proceed against the King being thus settled and agreed upon, they began to consider in what manner and form to proceed, that there might be some appearance of justice. Nothing could be found in the common or statute law which could direct or warrant them; nor could the precedent of deposing Richard the Second (the sole precedent of that kind) be applied to their purpose; for, how foul soever the circumstances precedent had been, he had made a resignation of his royalty before the Lords in Parliament; so that his deposition proceeded from himself, and with his own consent, and so would not agree in any particular with the case in question. So that they must make a new form to warrant their proceedings. And a new form they did erect, which was never before heard of. They constituted and erected a court that should be called *The High Court of Justice*, which should consist of so many judges, who should have authority to try the King, whether he were guilty of what he was accused of or no; and in order Jan. 6.

[1] [Seven peers met on the day to which the House was adjourned, Jan. 9, and three, four, or five peers, frequently afterwards, but only for trifling business.]

1649 thereunto, to examine such witnesses as should be produced: the number of the judges to be eight and forty, whereof the major part might proceed.

219. They could not have found such a number yet amongst themselves, after so many barbarities and impieties, upon whom they might depend in this last tragical expedition. And therefore they laid this for a ground, that if they should make only their own members to be judges in this case, they might appear in the eyes of the people to be too much parties, as having from the beginning maintained a war, though defensive, against the King, and so not so fit to be the only judges who were in the fault: on the other hand, if they should name none of themselves, it might be interpreted that they looked upon it as too dangerous a province to engage themselves in, and therefore they had put it off to others; which would discourage others from undertaking it. And therefore they resolved that the judges should be nominated promiscuously, as well of members of the House as of such other good and godly men in the kingdom as they should think fit to nominate. Whosoever would not be one himself when named, (as there were yet many amongst them, who, out of conscience or of fear, utterly protested against it,) should take upon him to name another man; which he could not but think was equally unlawful: so that few took upon them to nominate others who would reject the province themselves.

220. All the chief officers of the army were named, and accepted the office; and such aldermen and citizens of London as had been most violent against peace, and some few country gentlemen whose zeal had been taken notice of for the cause, and who were like to take such a preferment as a testimony of the Parliament's confidence in them, and would thereupon embrace it. When such a number of men were nominated as were thought in all respects to be equal to the work, they were to make choice of a speaker, or prolocutor, who should be called Lord President of that high court, who must manage and govern all the proceedings there, ask the witnesses all proper questions, and answer what the prisoner should propose. And

to that office one Bradshaw [was chosen,] a lawyer of Grace Inn, not much known in Westminster Hall, though of good practice in his chamber, and much employed by the factious and discontented persons. He was a gentleman of an ancient family in Cheshire and Lancashire, but of a fortune of his own making. He was not without parts, and of great insolence and ambition. When he was first nominated, he seemed much surprised, and very resolute to refuse it; which he did in such a manner, and so much enlarging upon his own want of ability to undergo so important a charge, that it was very evident that he had expected to be put to that apology. And when he was pressed with more importunity than could have been used by chance, he required time to consider of it, and he would then give his final answer; which he did the next day; and with great humility accepted the office, which he administered with all the pride, impudence, and superciliousness imaginable. He was presently invested with great state, and many officers and a guard assigned for the security of his person, and the dean's house at Westminster given to him for ever for his residence and habitation; a good sum of money, about five thousand pounds, was appointed to be presently paid to him, to put himself in such an equipage and way of living as the dignity of the office which he held would require. And now, the Lord President of the High Court of Justice seemed to be the greatest magistrate in England. And though it was not thought seasonable to make any such declaration, yet some of those whose opinions grew quickly into ordinances, upon several occasions declared, that they believed that office was not to be looked upon as necessary *pro hac vice*, but for continuance, and he who executed it deserved to have an ample and a liberal estate conferred upon him for ever: which sudden mutation and exaltation of fortune could not but make a great impression upon a vulgar spirit, accustomed to no excesses, and acquainted only with a very moderate fortune. All this being done, they made choice of some lawyers (eminent for nothing but their obscurity, and that they were men scarce known or heard of in the profession) to perform the offices of Attorney General and

1649 Jan. 10.

1649 Solicitor General for the State, to prosecute the prisoner at his trial, and to manage the evidence against him. Other officers of all kinds were appointed to attend and perform the several officers of their new court; which was ordered to be erected in
Jan. 13. Westminster Hall, for which such architects were appointed as were thought fit to give direction therein.

1648 221. The King was now sent for from Hurst castle, and
Dec. 21. when he came out of the boat which transported him from thence he was received by colonel Harryson with a strong party
Dec. 23. of horse; by whom he was to be conducted to Windsor castle [1]. Harryson was the son of a butcher near Nantwich in Cheshire, and had been bred up in the place of a clerk under a lawyer of good account in those parts; which kind of education introduces men into the language and practice of business, and, if it be not resisted by the great ingenuity of the person, imbues young men with more pride than any other kind of breeding, and disposes them to be pragmatical and insolent, though they have the skill to conceal it from their masters, except they find them (as they are too often) inclined to cherish it. When the rebellion first began, this man quitted his master, (who as he had relation to the King's service, so he discharged his duty faithfully,) and put himself into the Parliament army; where, having first obtained the office of a cornet, he got up by diligence and sobriety to the state of a captain, without any signal notice taken of him, till the new model of the army, when Cromwell, who possibly had knowledge of him before, found him of a spirit and disposition fit for his service, much given to prayer and to preaching, and otherwise of an understanding capable to be trusted in any business, to which his clerkship contributed very much: and then he was preferred very fast; so that by the time the King was brought to the army he had been a colonel of horse, and looked upon as inferior to few after Cromwell and Ireton in the council of the officers and in the government of the Agitators; and there were

[1] [To Winchester on Dec. 21, Farnham Dec. 22, Windsor Dec. 23. Dugdale's *Short View*, pp. 365, 6, and *Diary*, p. 96; Rushworth, IV. ii. 1371.]

few men with whom Cromwell more communicated, or upon whom he more depended for the conduct of any thing committed to him. He received the King with outward respect; kept himself bare, but attended him with great strictness, and was not to be approached by any address of the King; answering questions in short and few words, and when importuned, with rudeness. He manifested an apprehension that the King had some thought of making an escape, and did all things in order to prevent it. Being to lodge at Windsor, and so to pass by Bagshott, the King expressed a desire to see his little park at [Bagshott[1],] and to dine at the lodge there, a place where he had used to take much pleasure; and did not dissemble the knowing that the lord Newburgh, who had lately married the lady Aubigny, lived there; and said, he would send a servant to let that lady know that he would dine with her, that she might provide a dinner for him. Harryson well knew the affection of that lord and lady, and was very unwilling he should make any stay there; but finding the King so fixed upon it that he would not be otherwise removed from it than by not suffering him to go thither, he chose to consent, and that his majesty should send a servant; which he did the night before he intended to dine there. 1648 Dec. 23.

222. Both lord and lady were of known duty and affection to the King; the lady, after her husband the lord Aubigny had been killed at Edgehill, having so far incensed the Parliament that she had endured a long imprisonment, under a suspicion or evidence that she had been privy to that design which had been discovered by Mr. Waller, upon which Tomkins and Challoner had been put to death, and had likewise [herself] been put to death if she had not made her escape to Oxford. After the war was ended, she had, with the King's approbation, married the lord Newburgh; who having the same affections, they had from the time of the King's being at Hampton Court concerted with his majesty upon such and such ways, that in the strictest restraint he was under they found a way to write to and to hear from him. And most of the letters which

[1] ['Bagshaw,' MS.]

1648 passed between the King and the Queen passed through their hands; who had likewise a cipher with the King, by which they gave him notice of any thing they judged of importance for him to know. They had given him notice that he would be sent for from [the] Isle of Wight, and advised him to find some way that he might dine at the lodge at [Bagshott[1]]; and that he should take occasion, if he could, to lame the horse he rode upon, or to find such fault with his going, that he might take another horse out of the lord Newburgh's stables to continue the rest of his journey upon. That lord much delighted in horses, and had at that time one in his stables the most notorious for fleetness that was in England; and the purpose was, to mount the King upon that horse, that, when he found a fit opportunity, he might upon the sudden set spurs to his horse; and if he could get out of the company that encompassed him, he might possibly, by the swiftness of the horse and his skill in the most obscure ways of that forest, convey himself to another place in their view; and so, three or four good horses were laid in several places. And this was the reason that the King had so earnestly insisted upon dining at Bagshott; which being [in] his way, and his custom in his journey being always to dine, they could not deny him that liberty.

223. Before the King came thither Harryson had sent some horse with an officer to search the house, and all about the park, that he might be sure that no company lurked which might make some attempt. And the King all the morning found fault with the going of his horse, and said he would change it, and procure a better. When he came to the lodge, he found his dinner ready, but was quickly informed that the horse so much depended upon was the day before, by the blow of another horse, so lamed, that he could not be of use to the purpose he was designed for. And though that lord had other good horses which in such an exigent might be made use of, yet the King had observed so great difficulty to be in the attempt all his journey, when he was encompassed always in

[1] ['Bagshaw,' MS.]

the middle of a hundred horse, the officers all exceedingly well horsed, and every man, officer and soldier, having a pistol ready spanned in one hand, that he resolved not to pursue that design. And Harryson had already told him that he had provided a better horse for him; and it was believed he would never have permitted him to have made use of one of the lord Newburgh's. So that, after having spent three or four hours there with very much satisfaction to himself, though he was not suffered to be in any room without the company of six or seven soldiers, who suffered little to be spoken except it was so loud that they could hear it too, he took a sad farewell of them, appearing to have little hope ever to see them again. The lord Newburgh rode some miles in the forest to wait upon the King, till he was required by Harryson to return. His majesty lodged that night at his castle of Windsor, and was soon after carried to St. James's. In this journey, Harryson observing that the King had always an apprehension that there was a purpose to murder him, and had once let fall some words of the odiousness and wickedness of such an assassination and murder, which could never be safe to the persons who undertook it, he told him plainly that he needed not to entertain any such imagination or apprehension; that the Parliament had too much honour and justice to cherish so foul an intention; and assured him that whatever the Parliament resolved to do would be very public, and in a way of justice, to which the world should be witness, and would never endure a thought of secret violence: which his majesty could not persuade himself to believe, nor did imagine that they durst ever produce him in the sight of the people under any form whatsoever of a public trial. 1648

224[1]. It hath been acknowledged since by some officers and others who were present at the consultations, that from the time of the King's being at Hampton Court, and after the army had mastered both the Parliament and the city, and were weary of having the King with them, and knew not well how to be rid of him, there were many secret consults what to do

[1] [*Hist.*, p. 21.]

1649 with him. And it was generally concluded they should never be able to settle their new form of government whilst he lived: and after he was become a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, they were more solicitous for a resolution and determination in that particular: and after the vote of the *No more addresses* the most violent party thought they could do nothing in order to their own ends till he should be first dead; and therefore, one way or other, that was to be compassed in the first place. Some were for an actual deposing him; which could not but be easily brought to pass, since the Parliament would vote any thing they should be directed: others were for the taking away his life by poison, which would make least noise; or, if that could not be so easily contrived, by assassination, for which there were hands enough ready to be employed. There were a third sort, as violent as either of the other, who pressed to have him brought to a public trial as a malefactor; which would be most for the honour of the Parliament, and [would] teach all kings to know that they were accountable and punishable for the wickedness of their lives.

225. Many of the officers were of the first opinion, as a thing they had precedents for; and [he] being once deposed, they could better settle the government than if he were dead; for his son could pretend no right whilst he was alive, whereas, if he were dead, he would presently call himself King, and others would call him so too; and, it may be, other kings and princes would own him for such. If he were kept alive in a close prison, he might afterwards be made use of, or removed upon any appearance of a revolution.

226. There were as many officers of the second judgment, that he might be presently despatched. They said, it appeared by the experience they had, that whilst he was alive (for a more strict imprisonment than he had undergone he could never be confined to) there would be always plots and designs to set him at liberty; and he would have [a] party throughout the kingdom, and in a short time a faction in their most secret councils, and it may be in the army itself; and where his liberty would yield so great a price, it would be too great a trust to repose in

any man that he would long resist the temptation. Whereas, 1649
if he were confessedly dead, all these fears would be over; especially if they proceeded with that circumspection and severity towards all his party as in prudence they ought to do. And this party might probably have carried it if Hammond could have been wrought upon to have concurred; but he had yet too much conscience to expose himself to that infamy, and without his privity or connivance it could not be easily done.

227. The third party, which were all the Levellers and Agitators of the army, in the head of which Ireton and Harryson were, would not endure either of the other ways; said, they could as easily bring him to justice in the sight of the sun as depose him, since the authority of the Parliament could do one as well as the other: that their precedent of deposition had no reputation with the people, but [was[1]] looked upon as the effect of some potent faction, which always oppressed the people more after than they had been before. Besides, those deposings had been always attended with assassinations and murders, which were the more odious and detested, because nobody owned and avowed the bloody actions they had done. But if he were brought to a public trial for the notorious ill things he had done and for his misgovernment, upon the complaint and prosecution of the people, the superiority of the people would be hereby vindicated and made manifest; and they should receive the benefit, and be for ever free from those oppressions which he had imposed upon them, and for which he should have paid too dear; and such an exemplary proceeding and execution as this, where every circumstance should be clear and notorious, would be the best foundation and security of the government they intended to establish; and no man would be ambitious to succeed him, and be a king in his place, when he saw in what manner he must be accountable to the people. This argumentation, or the strength and obstinacy of that party, carried it: and hereupon all that formality of proceeding which afterwards was exercised was resolved upon and consented to.

[1] ['were,' MS.]

1649 228. Whether the incredibility and monstrousness of such a kind of proceeding wrought upon the minds of men, or whether the principal actors took pains by their insinuations to have it so believed, but it is very strange that they who wished the King best, and stood nearest to the stage where these parts were acted, did not believe that there were those horrid intentions that shortly after appeared. The preachers, who had sounded the trumpets loudest to and throughout the war, preached now as furiously against all wicked attempts and violence against the person of the King, and foolishly urged the obligation of the Covenant (by which they had involved him in all the danger he was in) for the security of his person.

229. As soon as the Prince heard of the King's being carried by Harryson to Windsor, and from thence to St. James's, though he had lately sent a servant on purpose only to see his majesty, and to bring him an account of the state of his health, which servant was not permitted to see him, he sent now
Jan. 23. another with a letter to Fayrefax and the council of war, (for he knew the Parliament had no authority,) in which he told them, that he had no other means to be informed of the health and condition of the King his royal father but by the common prints, and general intelligence that arrived in these; he had reason by those evidences to believe, that after the expiration of the treaty in the Isle of Wight (where he hoped the foundation for a happy peace had been laid) his majesty had been carried to Hurst castle, and, since, by some officers of the army, to Windsor, not without purpose of a more violent prosecution; the rumour whereof, though of so monstrous and incredible a nature, had called upon his piety to make this address to them; who had at this time the power to choose, whether they would raise lasting monuments to themselves of loyalty and piety, by restoring their sovereign to his just rights and their country to peace and happiness, a glory which had been seldom so absolutely vouchsafed to so small a number of men, or to make themselves the authors of endless misery to the kingdom, by contributing or consenting to an act which all Christians, into how different an opinion soever divided, must

abhor as the most inconsistent with the elements of any religion, and destructive to the [security[1]] and being of any kind of government. He did therefore earnestly desire and conjure them sadly to consider the vast and prodigious disproportion in that election; and then, he said, he could not doubt but that they would choose to do that which is most just, safe, and honourable for them to do; make themselves the blessed instruments to preserve, defend, and restore their King, to whom their allegiance was only due; by which every one of them might justly promise themselves the peace of conscience, the singular good-will and favour of his majesty, the ample thanks and acknowledgment of all good men, and the particular and unalterable affection of the Prince himself. This letter was with much ado delivered into the hands of Fayrefax himself, but the messenger could never be admitted to speak with him; nor was there more known, than that it was read in the council of war, and laid aside. 1649

230[2]. From the time of [the King's[3]] being come to St. James'[s], when he was delivered into the hands and custody of colonel Tomlinson, a colonel of foot, though the officer seemed to be a man of a better breeding and a nature more civil than Harryson, and pretended to pay much respect and duty to the King in his outward demeanour, yet his majesty was treated with much more rudeness and barbarity than he had ever been before. No man was suffered to see or speak to him but the soldiers who were his guard, some of whom sat up always in his bedchamber, and drank and took tobacco as if they had been upon the court of guard; nor was he suffered to go into any other room, either to say his prayers or to receive the ordinary benefits of nature, but was obliged to do both in their presence and before them: and yet they were so jealous of these their janizaries, that they might be wrought upon by the influence of this innocent prince, or by the remorse of their own conscience upon the exercise of so much barbarity, [that] they caused the guards to be still changed, and the same men were never suffered twice to perform the same monstrous duty. Jan. 19.

[1] ['insecurity,' MS.] [2] [*Life*, p. 382.] [3] ['his,' MS.]

1649 Jan. 20. 231. When he was first brought to Westminster Hall, which was upon the 20th of January, before their High Court of Justice, he looked upon them, and sat down, without any manifestation of trouble, never stirring his hat; all the impudent judges sitting covered, and fixing their eyes upon him, without the least show of respect. The odious libel, which they called a 'charge and impeachment,' was then read by the clerk, which contained[1], That he had been admitted King of England, and trusted with a limited power, to govern according to law; and by his oath and office was obliged to use the power committed to him for the good and benefit of the people: but that he had, out of a wicked design to erect to himself an unlimited and tyrannical power, and to overthrow the rights and liberties of the people, traitorously[2] levied war against the present Parliament and the people therein represented. And then it mentioned his first appearing at York with a guard, then his being at Beverly, then his setting up his standard at Nottingham, the day of the month and the year in which the battle had been at Edgehill, and all the other several battles which had been fought in his presence; in which, it said, he had caused and procured many thousands of the freeborn people of the nation to be slain: that after all his forces had been defeated, and himself become a prisoner, he had in that very year caused many insurrections to be made in England, and given a commission to the Prince his son to raise a new war against the Parliament, whereby many who were in their service, and trusted by them, had revolted, broken their trust, and betook themselves to the service of the Prince against the Parliament and the people: that he had been the author and contriver of the unnatural, cruel, and bloody war, and was therein guilty of all the treasons, murders, rapines, burnings, spoils, desolations, damage, and mischieve to the nation, and which had been committed in the said war, or been occasioned thereby; and that he was therefore impeached for the said treasons and crimes, on the behalf of the people of England, as a tyrant, traitor, and murderer, and a public implacable enemy

[1] [*Hist.*, p. 23.] [2] ['had traitorously,' MS.]

to the commonwealth of England; and prayed that he might be 1649
put to answer to all the particulars, to the end that such an examination, trial, and judgment might be had thereupon as should be agreeable to justice.

232. Which being read, their president[1] Bradshaw, after he had insolently reprehended the King for not having stirred his hat, or shewed more respect to that high tribunal, told[2] him, that the Parliament of England had appointed that court to try him for the several treasons and misdemeanours which he had committed against the kingdom during the evil administration of his government, that[3] upon the examination thereof justice might be done. And after a great sauciness and impudence of talk, he asked the King what answer he made to that impeachment.

233. The King, without any alteration in his countenance by all that insolent provocation, told them, he would first know of them by what authority they presumed by force to bring him before them, and who gave them power to judge of his actions, for which he was accountable to none but God; though they had been always such as he need not be ashamed to own them before all the world. He told them, that he was their King, and they his subjects, who owed him duty and obedience; that no Parliament had authority to call him before them; but that they were not the Parliament, nor had any authority from the Parliament to sit in that manner: that of all the persons who sat there, and took upon them to judge him, except those persons who being officers of the army he could not but know whilst he was forced to be amongst them, there were only two faces which he had [ever[4]] seen before, or whose names were known to him. And after urging their duty that was due to him, and his superiority over them, by such lively reasons and arguments as were not capable of any answer, he concluded, that he would not so much betray himself and his royal dignity as to answer any thing they objected against him, which were to acknowledge their authority; though he believed that every

[1] [*Life*, p. 382.]
[2] ['he told,' MS.]
[3] ['and that,' MS.]
[4] ['never,' MS.]

1649 one of themselves, as well as the spectators, did in their own consciences absolve him from all the material things which were objected against him.

234. Bradshaw advised him in a very arrogant manner not to deceive himself with an opinion that any thing he had said would do him any good; that the Parliament knew their own authority, and would not suffer it to be called in question and debated; therefore wished him to think better of it against he should be next brought thither, and that he would answer directly to his charge; otherwise he could not be so ignorant as not to know what judgment the law pronounced against those who stood mute, and obstinately refused to plead. And so the guard carried his majesty back to St. James's; where they treated him as before.

235. There was an accident happened that first day which may be fit to be remembered. When all those who were commissioners had taken their places, and the King was brought in, the first ceremony was to read their commission, which was the ordinance of Parliament for the trial; and then the judges were all called, every man answering to his name as he was called; and the president being first called and making answer, the next who was called, being the general, lord Fayrefax, and no answer being made, the officer called him the second time, when there was a voice heard that said, 'he had more wit than to be there;' which put the court into some disorder, and somebody asking who it was, there was no other answer but a little murmuring. But presently, when the impeachment was read, and that expression used of 'all the good people of England,' the same voice in a louder tone answered, 'No, nor the hundredth part of them!' upon which, one of the officers bade the soldiers give fire into that box whence those presumptuous words were uttered. But it was quickly discerned that it was the general's wife, the lady Fayrefax, who had uttered both those sharp sayings; who was presently persuaded or forced to leave the place, to prevent any new disorder. She was of a very noble extraction, one of the daughters and heirs of Horace lord Vere of Tilbury; who, having been bred in Holland, had

not that reverence for the Church of England as she ought to have had, and so had unhappily concurred in her husband's entering into rebellion, never imagining what misery it would bring upon the kingdom; and now abhorred the work in hand as much as any body could do, and did all she could to hinder her husband from acting any part in it. Nor did he ever sit in that bloody court, though out of the stupidity of his soul he was throughout overwitted by Cromwell, and made a property to bring that to pass which could very hardly have been otherwise effected. 1649

236. As there was in many persons present at that woeful spectacle a real duty and compassion for the King, so there was in others so barbarous and brutal a behaviour towards him that they called him *Tyrant* and *Murderer*; and one spit in his face, which his majesty without expressing any trouble wiped off with his handkerchief[1].

237. The two men who were only known to the King before the troubles were, sir Harry Mildmay, master of the King's jewel-house, who had been bred up in the Court, being a younger brother of a good family in Essex, and who had been prosecuted with so great favours and bounties by King James and by his majesty, that he was raised by them to a great estate, and preferred to that office in his house, which is the best under those which entitle the officers to be of the Privy Council. No man more obsequious to the Court than he whilst it flourished; a great flatterer of all persons in authority, and a spy in all places for them. From the beginning of the Parliament he concurred with those who were most violent against the Court, and most like to prevail against it; and being thereupon branded with ingratitude, as that brand commonly makes men most impudent, he continued his desperate pace with them till he became one of the murderers of his master. The other was sir John Danvers, the younger brother and heir of the earl of Danby, who was likewise a gentleman of the privy chamber to the King, who being neglected by his brother, and having by a vain expense in his

[1] ['handkercher,' MS.]

1649 way of living contracted a vast debt which he knew not how to pay, and being a proud, formal, weak man, between being seduced and a seducer, he became so far involved in their counsels that he suffered himself to be applied to their worst offices, taking it to be a high honour to sit upon the same bench with Cromwell, who employed and contemned him at once: nor did that party of miscreants look upon any two men in the kingdom with that scorn and detestation as they did upon Danvers and Mildmay.

238. The several unheard of insolences which this excellent prince was forced to submit to at the other times he was brought before that odious judicatory, his majestic behaviour under so much insolence, and resolute insisting upon his own dignity, and defending it by manifest authorities in the law as well as by the clearest deductions from reason, the pronounc-
Jan. 27. ing that horrible sentence upon the most innocent person in the world, the execution of that sentence by the most execrable
Jan. 30. murder that ever was committed since that of our blessed Saviour, and the circumstances thereof; the application and interposition that was used by some noble persons to prevent that woeful murder, and the hypocrisy with which that interposition was deluded; the saint-like behaviour of that blessed martyr, and his Christian courage and patience at his death; are all particulars so well known, and have been so much enlarged[1] upon in a treatise peculiarly applied to that purpose[2], that the farther mentioning it in this place would but afflict and grieve the reader, and make the relation itself odious; and therefore no more shall be said here of that lamentable tragedy, so much to the dishonour of the nation and the religion professed by it.

239. But it will not be unnecessary to add the short character of his person, that posterity may know the inestimable loss which the nation then underwent, in being deprived of a prince whose example would have had a greater influence

[1] ['have been so much enlarged' substituted for 'fit to be more enlarged.']

[2] [Either the second part of Bate's *Elenchus Motuum*, or *England's Black Tribunal*, both published in 1660, may possibly be the book to which Clarendon refers.]

upon the manners and piety of the nation than the most strict 1649
laws can have [1]. To speak first of his private qualifications as a man, before the mention of his princely and royal virtues; he was, if ever any, the most worthy of the title of an honest man; so great a lover of justice, that no temptation could dispose him to a wrongful action, except it were so disguised to him that he believed it to be just. He had a tenderness and compassion of nature, which restrained him from ever doing a hard-hearted thing; and therefore he was so apt to grant pardon to malefactors, that his judges represented to him the damage and insecurity to the public that flowed from such his indulgence; and then he restrained himself from pardoning either murders or highway robberies, and quickly discerned the fruits of his severity by a wonderful reformation of those enormities. He was very punctual and regular in his devotions; so that he was never known to enter upon his recreations or sports, though never so early in the morning, before he had been at public prayers; so that on hunting-days his chaplains were bound to a very early attendance. And he was likewise very strict in observing the hours of his private cabinet devotions; and was so severe an exactor of gravity and reverence in all mention of religion, that he could never endure any light or profane word in religion, with what sharpness of wit soever it was covered: and though he was well pleased and delighted with reading verses made upon any occasion, no man durst bring before him any thing that was profane or unclean; that kind of wit had never any countenance then. He was so great an example of conjugal affection, that they who did not imitate him in that particular did not brag of their liberty: and he did not only permit but direct his bishops to prosecute those scandalous vices in the ecclesiastical courts, against persons of eminence and near relation to his service.

[1] [This first sentence in this section is substituted in the MS. of the *Life* for the following:—'But there shall be only inserted the short character of his person as it was found in the papers of that person whose life is here described, who was so nearly trusted by him, and who had the greatest love for his person and the greatest reverence for his memory that any faithful servant could express.']

1649 240. His kingly virtues had some mixture and allay that hindered them from shining in full lustre, and from producing those fruits they should have been attended with. He was not in his nature bountiful, though he gave very much: which appeared more after the duke of Buckingham's death, after which those showers fell very rarely; and he paused too long in giving, which made those to whom he gave less sensible of the benefit. He kept state to the full, which made his Court very orderly; no man presuming to be seen in a place where he had no pretence to be. He saw and observed men long before he received any about his person, and did not love strangers, nor very confident men. He was a patient hearer of causes, which he frequently accustomed himself to, at the Council board; and judged very well, and was dexterous in the mediating part: so that he often put an end to causes by persuasion, which the stubbornness of men's humours made dilatory in courts of justice.

241. He was very fearless in his person, but not enterprising; and had an excellent understanding, but was not confident enough of it; which made him oftentimes change his own opinion for a worse, and follow the advice of a man that did not judge so well as himself. And this made him more irresolute than the conjuncture of his affairs would admit. If he had been of a rougher and more imperious nature, he would have found more respect and duty; and his not applying some severe cures to approaching evils proceeded from the lenity of his nature and the tenderness of his conscience, which in all cases of blood made him choose the softer way, and not hearken to severe counsels, how reasonably soever urged. This only restrained him from pursuing his advantage in the first Scots' expedition, when, humanly speaking, he might have reduced that nation to the most slavish obedience that could have been wished. But no man can say he had then many who advised him to it, but the contrary, by a wonderful indisposition all his Council had to fighting or any other fatigue. He was always an immoderate lover of the Scottish nation, having not only been born there, but educated by that

people, and besieged by them always, having few English about him until he was king; and the major number of his servants being still of those, who he thought could never fail him; and then no man had such an ascendant over him, by the lowest and humblest insinuations, as duke Hambleton had. 1649

242. As he excelled in all other virtues, so in temperance he was so strict, that he abhorred all deboshry to that degree, that, at a great festival solemnity, where he once was, when very many of the nobility of the English and Scots were entertained, [being[1]] told by one who withdrew from thence, what vast draughts of wine they drank, and that there was one earl who had drank most of the rest down and was not himself moved or altered, the King said that he deserved to be hanged; and that earl coming shortly into the room where his majesty was, in some gaiety, to show how unhurt he was from that battle, the King sent one to bid him withdraw from his majesty's presence; nor did he in some days after appear before the King.

243. There were so many miraculous circumstances contributed to his ruin, that men might well think that heaven and earth conspired it, and that the stars designed it. Though he was, from the first declension of his power, so much betrayed by his own servants, that there were very few who remained faithful to him, yet that treachery proceeded not from any treasonable purpose to do him any harm, but from particular and personal animosities against other men. And afterwards, the terror all men were under of the Parliament, and the guilt they were conscious of themselves, made them watch all opportunities to make themselves gracious to those who could do them good; and so they became spies upon their master, and from one piece of knavery were hardened and confirmed to undertake another, till at last they had no hope of preservation but by the destruction of their master. And after all this, when a man might reasonably believe that less than a universal defection of three nations could not have reduced a

[1] ['he was,' MS.]

1649 great King to so ugly a fate, it is most certain that in that very hour when he was thus wickedly murdered in the sight of the sun, he had as great a share in the hearts and affections of his subjects in general, was as much beloved, esteemed, and longed for by the people in general of the three nations, as any of his predecessors had ever been. To conclude: he was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian, that the age in which he lived had produced. And if he was not the best King, if he was without some parts and qualities which have made some kings great and happy, no other prince was ever unhappy who was possessed of half his virtues and endowments, and so much without any kind of vice.

244[1]. This unparalleled murder and parricide was committed upon the 30th of January, in the year, according to the account used in that country, 1648, in the forty and ninth year of his age, and when he had such excellent health, and so great vigour of body, that when his murderers caused him to be opened, (which they did, and were present at it with great curiosity,) they confessed and declared that no man had ever all his vital parts so perfect and unhurt, and that he seemed to be of so admirable a composition and constitution that he would probably have lived as long as nature could subsist. His body was immediately carried into a room at Whitehall; where he was exposed for many days to the public view, that all men might know that he was not alive. And he was then
Feb. 7. embalmed, and put into a coffin, and so carried to St. James's where he likewise remained several days. They who were qualified to look after that province declared that he should be buried at Windsor in a decent manner, provided that the whole expense should not exceed five hundred pounds. The duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hartford, the earls of Southampton and Lyndsy, who had been of his bedchamber, and always very faithful to him, desired those who governed that they might have leave to perform the last duty to their dead master, and to wait upon him to his grave; which, after some

[1] [*Hist.*, p. 23.]

pauses, they were permitted to do, with this, that they should 1649
not attend the corpse out of the town, since they resolved it should be privately carried to Windsor without pomp or noise; and then they should have timely notice, that, if they pleased, they might be at his interment. And accordingly it was committed to four of those servants who had been by them appointed to wait upon him during his imprisonment, that they should convey the body to Windsor; which they did. And it was that night placed in that chamber which had usually been his bedchamber: and the next morning it was carried into the great hall, where it remained till the lords came; who arrived there in the afternoon, and immediately went to colonel Whitchcott, the governor of the castle, and shewed the order they had from the Parliament to be present at the burial; which he admitted. But when they desired that his majesty might be buried according to the form of the Common Prayer Book, the bishop of London being present with them to officiate, he expressly, positively, and roughly refused to consent to it, and said it was not lawful; that the Common Prayer Book was put down, and he would not suffer it to be used in that garrison where he commanded; nor could all the reasons, persuasions, and entreaties prevail with him to suffer it. Then they went into the church, to make choice of a place to bury it in. But when they entered into it, which they had been so well acquainted with, they found it so altered and transformed, all tombs, inscriptions, and those landmarks pulled down, by which all men knew every particular place in that church, and such a dismal mutation over the whole, that they knew not where they were, nor was there one old officer that had belonged to it, or knew where the princes had used to be interred. At last there was a fellow of the town who undertook to tell them the place, where, he said, there was a vault, in which King Harry the Eighth and Queen Jane Seymour were interred. As near that place as could conveniently be, they caused the grave to be made. And there Feb. 12.
the King's body was laid, without any words, or other ceremony than the tears and sighs of the few beholders. Upon

1649 the coffin was a plate of silver fixed with these words only, '*King Charles.* 1648.' When the coffin was put in, the black velvet pall that had covered it was thrown over it, and then the earth thrown in; which the governor stayed to see perfectly done, and then took the keys of the church, which was seldom put to any use.

245. I have been the longer and the more particular in this relation, that I may from thence take occasion to mention what fell out long after, and which administered a subject of much discourse; in which, according to the several humours and fancies of men, they who were in nearest credit and trust about the King underwent many very severe censures and reproaches, not without reflections upon the King himself. Upon the return of the King with so much congratulation and universal joy of the people, above ten years after the murder of his father, it was generally expected that the body should be removed from that obscure burial, and, with such ceremony as should be thought fit, should be solemnly deposited with his royal ancestors in King Harry the Seventh's chapel in the [collegiate [1]] church of Westminster. And the King himself intended nothing more, and spake often of it, as if it were only deferred till some circumstances and ceremonies in the doing it might be adjusted. But by degrees the discourse of it was diminished, as if it were totally laid aside upon some reasons of state, the ground whereof several men guessed at according to their fancies, and thereupon cast those reproaches upon the statesmen as they thought reasonable, when the reasons which were suggested by their own imaginations did not satisfy their understanding. And for the satisfaction and information of all men, I choose in this place to explain that matter, which, it may be, is not known to many, and at that time was not, for many reasons, thought fit to be published. The duke of
1655 March 30. Richmond was dead before the King returned, and the marquis
1660 Oct. 24. of Hartford died in a short time after, and was seldom out of his lodging after his majesty came to Whitehall. The earl of

[1] ['cathedral,' MS.]

Southampton and the earl of Lyndsy went to Windsor, and 1649
took with them such of their own servants who had attended them in that service, and as many others who they remembered had been then present and were still alive; who all amounted to a small number; there being at that time [of the interment] great strictness used in admitting any to be present whose names were not included in the order which the lords had brought. In a word, the confusion that they had at that time observed to be in that church, all things pulled down which distinguished between the body of the church and the quire, and the small alterations which were begun to be made towards decency, so totally perplexed their memories, that they could not satisfy themselves in what place or part of the church the royal body was interred; yet, where any concurred upon this or that place, they caused the ground to be opened at a good distance, and, upon such inquiries, found no cause to believe that they were near the place. And upon their giving this account to the King, the thought of that remove was laid aside; and the reason communicated to very few, for the better discountenancing farther inquiry.

246. Though this abominable and wicked action had to a degree satisfied their malice, it had not enough provided for their ambition or security. They had no sooner freed themselves from one, than another king was grown up in his place. And beside the old royal party, which continued still vigorous, notwithstanding their loss of so much blood, and (which weakens almost as much) of so great estates, they did apprehend that there were in the vast number of the guilty (who quietly looked on upon the removal of the old, whom they had so grievously offended) [many who] would yet be very willing to submit, and be obedient, to the new King; who was like to find more friends abroad as well as at home than his father had done. And therefore they made haste to prevent this threatening Jan. 30.
evil, by publishing a proclamation, That no person whatsoever should presume to declare Charles Steward, (son of the late Charles,) commonly called the Prince of Wales, or any other person, to be king, or chief magistrate, of England or Ireland,

1649 or of any dominions belonging thereunto, by colour of inheritance, succession, election, or any other claim whatsoever; and that whoever, contrary to this Act, presume to proclaim, &c. should be deemed and adjudged a traitor, and suffer accordingly.

247. In the next place, that their infant republic might be nursed, cherished, and brought up, by those only who had begotten and brought it forth, they resolved to take away and
Feb. 6. abolish the House of Peers, and voted, that they would make no farther addresses to the House of Lords, nor receive any more from them: that the House of Peers in Parliament was useless and dangerous, and that an Act should be brought in for abolishing it; that the privilege of the peers of being freed from arrests should be declared null and void: all which was done within few days. However, they declared that the peers should have the privilege to be elected knights or burgesses; of which gracious concession some of them took the benefit soon after, and sat, upon their election into vacant places, in the House of Commons.

248. There remained yet another provision to be made, against their own ambition; for it was well known that there remained yet amongst them many who were not equally fond
Feb. 7. of a commonwealth; and therefore they declared, 'that it had been found by experience that the office of a king in this nation, or to have the power thereof in any single person, was unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty and safety and public interest of the nation; and therefore that it should be utterly abolished; and to that purpose an Act should be forth-
March 17. with prepared': which was likewise done, and passed. And by this triple cord they believed their republic would be strongly compacted and sufficiently provided for.

Feb. 8. 249. Their new Great Seal was by this time ready; whereon was engraven on one side the arms of England and Ireland, with this inscription, '*The Great Seal of England*'; and on the other side the portraiture of the House of Commons sitting, circumscribed, '*In the first year of freedom by God's blessing restored*, 1648.' And the custody of this Great Seal was com-

mitted to three lawyers, whereof [one[1]] had sat amongst the 1649
King's judges, and the other [two[2]] had contributed too much to their service. All things being now in this good order, they sent for their judges, to agree upon the formality and circumstances of proceedings. For it was declared by the Parliament that they were fully resolved to maintain and uphold the fundamental laws of the nation, in order to the preservation of the lives, property, and liberty of the people, notwithstanding the alterations made in the government for the good of the people: and the writs were no more to run in the King's name, as they had always done, but the name, style, and test, to be, '*Custodes libertatis Angliæ, authoritate Parliamenti.*' If it were not a thing so notoriously known, it could not be believed that of twelve judges, whereof ten were of their own making, and the other two had quietly submitted from the beginning of the war to the authority that governed, six laid down their places, Feb. 8.
and could not give themselves leave to accept commissions from the new established power. So aguish and fantastical a thing is the conscience of men who have once departed from the rule of conscience, in hope to be permitted to adhere to it again upon a less pressing occasion.

250[3]. It will require, at least it may not be unfit, to rest and make a pause in this place, to take a view and to behold with what countenance the kings and princes of Christendom had their eyes fixed upon this woful bloody spectacle; how they looked upon that issue of blood, at which their own was so prodigally poured out; with what consternation their hearts laboured to see the impious hands of the lowest and basest subjects bathing in the bowels and reeking blood of their sovereign; a brother king, the anointed of the Lord, dismembered as a malefactor; what combination and union was entered into to take vengeance upon these monsters, and to vindicate the royal blood thus wickedly spilt. Alas! there was not a murmur amongst any of them at it; but, as if they had been all called upon in the language of the prophet Isaiah, '*Go, ye*

[1] ['two,' MS. The one was John Lisle.]
[2] [Bulstrode Whitlocke and serj. Keeble.]
[3] [*Life*, p. 385.]

1649 *swift messengers, to a nation scattered and peeled, to a people terrible from their beginning hitherto, to a nation meted out, and trodden down, whose lands the rivers have spoiled!'* (xviii. 2.) they made haste, and sent thither, that they might get shares in the spoils of a murdered monarch.

251. Cardinal Mazaryne, who in the infancy of [the French[1]] King managed that sceptre, had long adored the conduct of Cromwell, and sought his friendship by a lower and a viler application than was suitable to the purple of a cardinal, sent now to be admitted as a merchant to traffic in the purchase of the rich goods and jewels of the rifled Crown, of which he purchased all the rich beds and hangings and carpets which furnished his palace at Paris. The King of Spain had from the beginning of the rebellion kept don Alonso de Cardinas, who was his ambassador to the King, residing still at London; and he had upon several occasions many audiences from the Parliament, and several treaties on foot; and as soon as this dismal murder was over, that ambassador (who had always a great malignity towards the King) bought as many pictures and other precious goods appertaining to the Crown, as, being sent by ship to the Corunnia in Spain, were carried from thence to Madrid upon eighteen mules. Christina, queen of Sweden, purchased the choice of all the medals and jewels, and some pictures, at a great price, and received Cromwell's ambassador with great joy and pomp, and made an alliance with him. And the archduke Leopold, who was governor of Flanders, disbursed a great sum of money for many of the best pictures which adorned the several palaces of the King; which were all brought to him to Bruxells, and from thence carried by him into Germany. In this manner did the neighbour princes join to assist Cromwell with very great sums of money, whereby he might be enabled to prosecute and finish his wicked victory over what yet remained unconquered, and to extinguish monarchy in [this[2]] renowned kingdom; whilst they enriched and adorned themselves with the ruins and spoils of the surviving heir, and without applying any part thereof to his relief

[1] ['that,' MS.] [2] ['that,' MS.]

in the greatest necessities which ever king was subject to. 1649
And that which is stranger than all this, and more wonderful, (since most men by recovering their fortunes use to recover most of what they were before robbed of,) many who joined in the robbery pretending that they took care to preserve it for the true owner, not one of all these princes ever restored any of their unlawful purchases to the King after his blessed restoration.

252. Whilst those perfidious wretches had their hands still reeking in the precious blood of their sovereign, they were put upon a new piece of butchery, as necessary to the establishment of their new tyranny. The King was no sooner dead, but they declared, as hath been said, that from this time England should be governed as a commonwealth, by the Parliament; that is, by that handful of men who by their wisdom and power had wrought this wonderful alteration. And because the number of those appeared very small, and the number of those they had excluded was as visible, they made an order Feb. 1.
and declaration, that as many of the members who had been excluded as would under their hands approve all that had been done during the time they were excluded, should return to their seats in the House without any prejudice for the future; and hereupon very many went again into the House, satisfying themselves that they were not guilty of the innocent royal blood that had been spilt; and so their number increased. They had made a new Great Seal[1], and called the commissioners who were intrusted with the keeping thereof '*The Keepers of* Feb. 8.
the Liberties of England.' And the court of King's Bench they called '*the Upper Bench,*' and appointed certain persons to consider of such alterations as were necessary to be made in the laws of England in regard of so important a mutation. That they might have some obligation of obedience from their subjects for the future, who had broken all the former oaths which they had taken, a new oath was prepared and established, which they called an *Engagement;* the substance Oct. 11.

[1] ['with the arms of England and Ireland, and without any effigies;' *struck out.*]

1649 whereof was, that every man should swear that he would be true and faithful to the government established without King or House of Peers, and that he would never consent to the readmitting either of them again, or words to that effect: and that whosoever refused to take that Engagement should be incapable of holding any place or office in Church or State. The necessity of taking which oath did not only exclude all of the royal party, but freed them from very many who had offices in Church and State, who being of the Presbyterian party durst not sacrifice their beloved Covenant to this new Engagement. And so they filled many considerable places, both in the one and the other, with men throughly prepared for their service. But before they could model and finish all this, and whilst it was preparing, they had in several parts of the kingdom terrified the people with bloody spectacles in the executing many of the prisoners who had been taken. And, that all hopes or pretences might be taken away from their subjects, the peers of England, that they should hereafter have any thing to do in declaring what the fundamental laws of the land are, the High Court of Justice was appointed to sit again
Feb. 10. for the trial of duke Hambleton, the earl of Holland, the earl of Norwich, the lord Capell, and another gentleman, one sir John Owen, who, having been heretofore a colonel in the
1648 King's army, had in a late insurrection in Wales killed the
June 3. high shrief; that they might see there should hereafter be no more distinction of quality in trials for life, but that the greatest lord and the meanest peasant should undergo the same judicatory and form of trial. Nor could it be thought unreasonable that all the creations of the Crown should be determined by that jurisdiction to which the Crown itself had been subjected.

253. Duke Hambleton could not well be thought other than a prisoner of war, and so not liable to a trial for his life. But his own conscience had given him a shrewd presage, when it
Jan. 30. tempted him to make an escape, which he had so luckily performed that he was out of his enemies' hands full three[1] days;

[1] [He was retaken the next morning.]

but being impatient to be at a greater distance from them, he was apprehended as he was taking horse in Southwark, and carried prisoner into the Tower; from whence he was brought, with the others, before that high court of judgment. He insisted upon the right and privilege of the kingdom of Scotland; that it had not the least dependence upon the kingdom of England, but was entirely governed by its own laws: that he, being a subject of that kingdom, was bound to obey the commands thereof; and the Parliament of that kingdom having thought it necessary to raise an army for the relief of their King, and constituted him general of that army, it was not lawful for him to refuse the command thereof; and whatever misfortune he had undergone with it, he could not be understood to be liable to any punishment but what a prisoner of war was bound to undergo. He was told, that the rights and laws of the kingdom of Scotland were not called in question, nor could be violated, by their prceeding against him, who was a subject of England, and against which he was charged with rebellion and treason: that they did not proceed against him as duke Hambleton of Scotland, but as earl of Cambridge in England, and they would judge him as such. 1649 Jan. 31. Feb. 6.

254. The earl of Holland was not at that time in a good disposition of health, and so answered little, and as a man that would rather receive his life by their favour than from the strength of his defence. The earl of Norwich behaved himself with great submission to the court, and with all those addresses as were most like to prevail over the affections, and to reconcile his judges to him; spoke of his being bred up in the Court from his cradle, in the time of Queen Elizabeth; of his having been a servant to King James all his reign; of his dependence upon prince Harry, afterwards upon this King; of the obligations he had from the Crown, and of his endeavours to serve it; and concluded as a man that would be beholding to them if they would give him leave.

255. The lord Capell appeared undaunted, and utterly refused to submit to their jurisdiction; that in the condition and capacity of a soldier and a prisoner of war, he said, the

1649 lawyers and gownmen had nothing to do with him, and therefore he would not answer to any thing which they had said against him, (Prideaux having treated him with great rudeness and insolence;) but insisted upon the law of nations, which exempted all prisoners, though submitting to mercy, from death, if it was not inflicted within so many days: which were long since expired. He urged the declaration which Fayrefax the general had made to him and the rest of the prisoners after the death of sir Charles Lucas and sir George Lysle, that none of their other lives should be in danger, which he had witnesses ready to prove, if they might be admitted; and concluded, that if he had committed any offence worthy of death, that he might be tried by his peers, which was his right by the laws of the land, the benefit whereof he required. Ireton, who was present, and sat as one of his judges, denied that the general had made any such promise, and if he had, that the Parliament's authority could not be restrained thereby; and put him in mind of his carriage at that time, and how much he neglected then the general's civility. The other insisted still on the promise, and urged that the general might be sent for and examined; which they knew not how to deny; but, in regard of his indisposition of health, they said they could not expect he should come in person, but they would send to him for his testimony in writing, whilst they proceeded against sir John Owen, who was the other prisoner.

256. He answered them without any application, that he was a plain gentleman of Wales, who had been always taught to obey the King; that he had served him heartily during the war, and finding afterwards that many honest men endeavoured to raise forces whereby they might get him out of prison, he did the like; and the high shrief endeavoured to oppose him, and so chanced to be killed, which he might have avoided if he had stayed at home: and concluded like a man that did not much care what they resolved concerning him.

257. Whether the question was well stated to Fayrefax, or what was else said to him to dissuade him from owning his declaration and promise, he boggled so much in his answer,

that they would be of opinion that he had not made such direct 1649
and positive promise, and that the same was never transmitted to the Parliament, which it ought to have been; and that at most it could but exempt those prisoners from being tried before a court or council of war, and could not be understood as an obligation to the Parliament not to give direction for such a legal proceeding against them as they should find necessary for the peace and safety of the kingdom. The president Bradshaw told the lord Capell, with many insolent expressions, that he was tried before such judges as the Parliament thought fit to assign him, and who had judged a better man than himself. And so the sentence of death was pronounced against all five of them, that they should lose their heads; upon which March 6.
sir John Owen made a low reverence, and gave them humble thanks; and being asked by a stander by what he meant, he said aloud, it was a very great honour to a poor gentleman of Wales to lose his head with such noble lords, and swore a great oath, that he was afraid that they would have hanged him.

258. The prisoners were all carried to St. James's, where they were to remain till their execution two days after; which time their friends and relations had to endeavour to preserve their lives by the power and authority of the Parliament; where there were so many sitting who had not sat in judgment upon them, and who were of several affections, and liable to several temptations, that there might be a reasonable hope to rescue them from the cruel and unjust judgment. Their wives and children and friends left no way untried to prevail, offered and gave money to some who were willing to receive it and made promises accordingly. But they who had the greatest credit, and most power to terrify others who should displease them, were inexorable; yet dealt so much more honestly than the rest that they declared to the ladies who solicited for their husbands and their fathers that they would not endeavour to do them service. And Ireton above all men continued his insolent and dogged humour, (*sævus ille vultus et robur a quo se contra pudorem muniebat*[1],) and told them

[1] [Tacitus, *Vit. Agric.*, c. 45.]

1649 all, if he had credit they should all die. Others who gave better words had no better meaning than he.

March 8. 259. All their petitions were read in order, being penned in such styles as the friends who solicited for them were advised. The duke of Hambleton's petition being read, many, upon the motives of justice, and as they imagined his death might be the occasion of new troubles between the two nations, since Scotland could not but resent it, would have been willing he should live. But he had fewer friends to his person than either of the rest; and Cromwell knew well that his being out of the way would not be unacceptable to them upon whom the peace of that kingdom depended: so that when his petition was read, it was rejected by very much the major part of voices. The consideration of the earl of Holland took up a long debate: the interest and interposition of the earl of Warwick, his brother, was applied; and every Presbyterian to a man was solicitous to preserve him. They urged his merit towards the Parliament in the beginning of the troubles; how much he had suffered in the Court for his affection to them: his age and infirmities, which would not suffer him long to enjoy that life which they should give him: and the consideration of his wife and children, which were numerous. But these arguments stirred up others to inveigh against his backslidings with the more bitterness, and to undervalue the services he had ever done, to tax his vanities and his breach of faith. So that when the question was put concerning him, they who were for the negative exceeded the number of the other by three or four votes[1]; Cromwell having more than an ordinary animosity against him, for his behaviour in the beginning of the summer, and for some words of neglect and contempt he had let fall concerning him. The earl of Norwich came next upon the stage; who, having always lived a cheerful and a jovial life, without contracting many enemies, had many there who wished him well, and few who had animosity against him: so that when the question was put concerning him, the House was equally divided; the votes which rejected his petition and

[1] [Noes, 31; yeas, 30.]

those which would preserve his life were equal[1]: so that his 1649
life or death depended upon the single vote of the Speaker; who told the House that he had received many obligations from that lord, and that once, when he had been like to have incurred the King's displeasure by some misinformation, which would have been very penal to him, the lord Goring (under which style he was treated, the additional of Norwich not being allowed by them upon their old rule) had by his credit preserved him, and removed the prejudice that was against him; and therefore he was obliged in gratitude to give his vote for the saving him. And by this good fortune he came to be preserved, whether the ground of it were true or no, or whether he [the Speaker] made it only as an excuse for saving any man's life who was put to ask it in that place.

260. The lord Capell, shortly after he was brought prisoner to the Tower from Windsor Castle, had, by a wonderful ad- Feb. 1.
venture, having a cord and all things necessary conveyed to him, let himself down out of the window of his chamber in the night over the wall of the Tower, and had been directed through what part of the ditch he might be best able to wade through. Whether he found the right place, or whether there was no safer place, he found the water and the mud so deep, that if he had not been by the head taller than other men, he must have perished, since the water came up to his chin. The way was so long to the other side, and the fatigue of drawing himself out of so much mud so intolerable, that his spirits were near spent, and he was once ready to call out for help, as thinking it better to be carried back again to the prison than to be found in such a place from whence he could not extricate himself, and where he was ready to expire. But it pleased God that he got at last to the other side; where his friends expected him, and carried him to a chamber in the Temple, where he remained two or three nights secure from any discovery, notwithstanding the diligence which could not but be used to recover a man they designed to use no better. After two or three days, a friend whom he trusted much, and who deserved

[1] [24.]

1649 to be trusted, conceiving that he might be more secure in a place to which there was less resort, and where there were so many harboured who were every day sought after, had provided a lodging for him in a private house in Lambeth Marsh; and calling upon him in an evening when it was dark to go thither, they chose rather to take any boat they found ready at the Temple stairs than to trust one of that people with the secret; and it was so late that there was one only boat left there. And in that the lord Capell, as well disguised as he thought necessary, and his friend put themselves, and bade the waterman to row them to Lambeth. Whether in their passage thither the other gentleman called him '*my lord*,' as was confidently reported, or whether the waterman had any jealousy by observing what he thought was a disguise, but when they were landed the wicked waterman, undiscerned, followed them till he saw into what house they went; and then went to an officer, and demanded what he would give him to bring him to the place where the lord Capell lay. And the officer promising to give him ten pounds, he led him presently to
Feb. 3. the house, where the excellent person was seized upon, and the next day carried to the Tower.

261. When the petition that his wife had delivered was read, many gentlemen spake on his behalf, and mentioned the great virtues which were in him, and that he had never deceived them or pretended to be of their party, but always resolutely declared himself for the King; and Cromwell, who had known him very well, spake so much good of him, and professed to have so much kindness and respect for him, that all men thought he was now safe, when he concluded, that his affection to the public so much weighed down his private friendship, that he could not but tell them, that the question was now, whether they would preserve the most bitter and the most implacable enemy they had; that he knew the lord Capell very well, and knew that he would be the last man in England that would forsake the royal interest; that he had great courage, industry, and generosity; that he had many friends who would always adhere to him;

and that as long as he lived, in what condition soever he 1649
was in, he would be a thorn in their sides; and therefore, for the good of the commonwealth, he should give his vote against the petition. Ireton's hatred was immortal; and he spake of him and against him as of a man of whom he was heartily afraid. Very many were swayed by the argument that had been urged against duke Hambleton, that God was not pleased that he should escape, because he had put him into their hands again when he was at liberty. And so, after a long debate, though there was not a man who had not a value for him, and very few who had a particular malice or prejudice towards him, the question being put, the negative was more by three or four voices: so that of the four lords, three were without the mercy of that unmerciful people. There being no other petition presented, Ireton told them, there had been great endeavours and solicitation used to save all those lords, but that there was a commoner, another condemned person, for whom no one man had spoke a word, nor had he himself so much as petitioned them; and therefore he desired that sir John Owen might be preserved by the mere motive and goodness of the House itself; which found little opposition[1], whether they were satiated with blood, or that they were willing, by this instance, that the nobility should see that any commoner should be preferred before them.

262. A scaffold was erected before Westminster Hall, and all the prisoners condemned were brought from St. James's, (as well the two who were reprieved as the three who were to suffer,) upon the 9th of March, that was at the end of the year 1648, a little more than a month after the murder of the King, to sir Thomas Cotton's house, at the upper end of Westminster Hall; where they were suffered to repose themselves about the space of an hour, and then were led successively through the Hall to the scaffold, duke Hambleton being first; who seemed yet to have March 9.
some hope of a reprieve, and made some stay in the Hall, till the earl of Denbigh came to him; and after a short whisper, in which he found there was no hope, he ascended the scaffold.

[1] [Yeas, 28; noes, 23.]

1649 He complained much of the injustice that was done him, and that he was put to death for obeying the laws of his country, which if he had not done he must have been put to death there[1]. He acknowledged the obligations he had to the King, and seemed not sorry for the gratitude he had expressed, how dear soever it cost him. His natural darkness and reservation in his discourse made him to be thought a wise man, and his having been in command under the King of Sweden, and his continual discourses of battles and fortifications, made him be thought a soldier. And both these mistakes [were[2]] the cause that made him be looked upon as a worse and a more dangerous man than in truth he deserved to be.

263. The earl of Holland was brought next, who by his long sickness was so spent that his spirits served not to entertain the people with long discourse. [He] spake of his religion as a matter unquestionable by the education he had had in the religious family of which he was a branch: which was thought a strange discourse for a dying man, who, though a son, knew enough of the iniquities of his father's house, which should rather have been buried in silence than by such an unseasonable testimony have been revived in the memory and discourse of men. He took more care to be thought a good friend to parliaments than a good servant to his master, and was thought to say too little of his having failed so much in his duty to him, which most good men believed to be the source from whence his present calamity sprung. He was a very well bred man, and a fine gentleman in good times; but too much desired to enjoy ease and plenty when the King could have neither, and did think poverty the most insupportable evil that could befall any man in this world. He was then so weak that he could not have lived long[3], and when his head was cut off very little blood followed.

[1] [The words 'He complained . . . death there' are substituted for 'where he used not many words, but, declaring that he died of the religion of the Church of Scotland, his head was severed from his body.' The rest of this section is taken from the *Hist.*, p. 24.] [2] ['was,' MS.]

[3] [The passage from 'which was thought' to 'lived long' is from the *Hist.*, p. 22.]

264. The lord Capell was then called; who walked through 1649
Westminster Hall, saluting such of his friends and acquaintance as he saw there with a very serene countenance, and accompanied with his friend Dr. Morly, who had been with him from the time of his sentence; at the foot of the scaffold he took his leave of him, and, embracing him, thanked him, and said he should go no farther, having some apprehension that he might receive some affront by the soldiers after his death; the chaplains who attended the two other lords being men of the time, and the doctor being well known to be most contrary. As soon as he had ascended the scaffold, he looked very vigorously about, and asked whether the other lords had spoken to the people with their hats on, and being told that they were bare, he gave his hat to his servant, and then with a clear and a strong voice he said, that he was brought thither to die for doing that which he could not repent of: that he had been born and bred under the government of a King whom he was bound in conscience to obey, under laws to which he had been always obedient, and in the bosom of a Church which he thought the best in the world: that he had never violated his faith to either of those, and was now condemned to die, against all the laws of the land; to which sentence he did submit.

265. He enlarged himself in commending the great virtue and piety of the King, whom they had put to death, and who was so just and so merciful a prince; and prayed to God to forgive the nation that innocent blood. Then he recommended to them the present King; who, he told them, was their true and their lawful King, and was worthy to be so: that he had the honour to have been some years near his person, and therefore he could not but know him well; and assured them that he was a prince of great understanding, of an excellent nature, of great courage, an entire lover of justice, and [of] exemplar piety; that he was not to be shaken in his religion, and had all those princely virtues which could make a nation happy: and therefore advised them to submit to his government, as the only means to preserve themselves, their posterity, and the

1649 Protestant religion. And having with great vehemence recommended it to them, after some prayers very devoutly pronounced upon his knees, he submitted himself with an unparalleled Christian courage to the fatal stroke, which deprived the nation of the noblest champion it had.

266. He was a man in whom the malice of his enemies could discover very few faults, and whom his friends could not wish better accomplished; whom Cromwell's own character well described, and who indeed could never have been contented to have lived under that government; whose memory all men loved and reverenced, though few followed his example. He [1] had always lived in a state of great plenty and general estimation, having a very noble fortune of his own by descent, and a fair addition to it by his marriage with an excellent wife [2], a lady of a very worthy extraction, of great virtue and beauty, by whom he had a numerous issue of both sexes, in which he took great joy and comfort: so that no man was more happy in all his domestic affairs, and so much the more happy in that he thought himself most blessed in them.

267. And yet the King's honour was no sooner violated, and his just power invaded, than he threw all those blessings behind him; and having no other obligations to the Crown than those which his own honour and conscience suggested to him, he frankly engaged his person and his fortune from the beginning of the troubles, as many others did, in all actions and enterprises of the greatest hazard and danger; and continued to the end, without ever making one false step, as few others did, though he had once, by the iniquity of a faction that then prevailed, an indignity put upon him that might have excused him for some remission of his former warmth. But it made no other impression upon him than to be quiet and contented whilst they would let him alone, and with the same cheerfulness to obey the first summons when he was called out; which was quickly after. In a word, he was a man that whoever shall after him deserve best in that nation, shall never think himself under-

[1] [*Hist.*, p. 25, to the end of the book.]

[2] [Elizabeth, d. and h. of Sir Charles Moryson, of Cashiobury, Herts.]

valued, when he shall hear that his courage, virtue, and fidelity 1649
is laid in the balance with, and compared to, that of the lord Capell.

268. So ended the year of one thousand six hundred forty-eight; a year of reproach and infamy above all years which had passed before it; a year of the highest dissimulation and hypocrisy, of the deepest villainy and most bloody treasons, that any nation was ever cursed with or under; a year in which the memory of all the transactions ought to be rased out of all records, lest, by the success of it, atheism, infidelity, and rebellion should be propagated in the world, and of which we may say, as he [the historian] said of the time of Domitian, *Sicut vetus ætas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones et loquendi audiendique commercio* [1], *&c.;* or, as the same writer says of a time not altogether so wicked, *is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur* [2].

'Molins, 21 *Nov.* 1671.'

[1] [Tacitus, *Vit. Agric.*, c. 2.] [2] [Id., *Hist.* i. 28.]

THE END OF THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

END OF VOL. IV.

Note to page 175.

X. 13. The paper with the account of Lord Digby has at length [*Aug.* 1888] been found, in the course of arranging the as yet uncalendared mass of Clarendon's papers dating from 1659. It is in the hand of an amanuensis, with corrections by Clarendon, who has inserted marks directing the insertion of a portion (commencing at p. 14) in the *Hist.* The following variations from the printed text of the last Editions are found:—

	Printed Text.	*MS.*
X. 13.	'an hundred'	'a hundred'
	'and that lord'	'and the lord'
	'messengers' return'	'messengers returned'
	'he repaired'	'he immediately repaired'
14.	'to subsist on'	'to subsist upon'
18.	'that he writ . . . received.'	'that he writ a letter to the Queen the same day after the lords were departed, which he had then received from the old prince of Condé, in which his highness intimated that he had received.'

The printed text gives words substituted by Clarendon himself for the words originally written by his amanuensis.

19.	'the lord Digby used'	'he used'
20.	'conte de Harcourt'	'comte de Harcourt'

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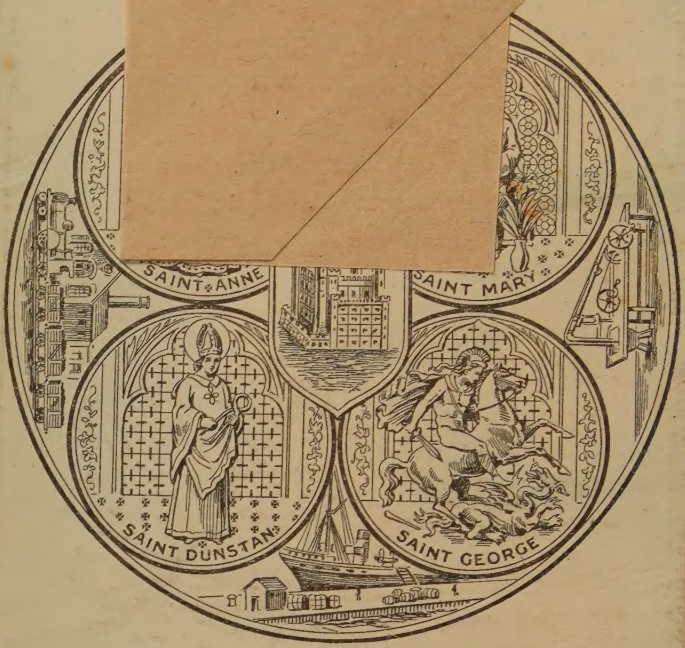

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